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JOAN OF ARC, THE MAID OF ORLEANS

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JOAN OF ARC; THE MAID OF ORLEANS

To us in this 20th Century who are asked to look back five hundred years and to consider the life of Joan of Arc in those days, we find the task a difficult one. The mysticism of those days was in full vogue, witchcraft was believed in and occult powers were not considered rare. Columbus had not yet discovered America and there were no railways, telegraphs, telephones, aeroplanes or submarines. How can we sit in judgment on the acts and conclusions of those days?

Of the military actions we have some knowledge and can perhaps by study place ourselves at least somewhat en rapport with those days. Four hundred years before Joan of Arc, William the Conqueror invaded and occupied England and did it so successfully that the English language contains thousands of words that came from the Latin by the way of the French language and in our daily speech these words of greater delicacy of expression are gradually superseding their Anglo-Saxon equivalents. England was made French by William the Conqueror and so very French and combative that four hundred years later, in Joan of Arc's day, England was holding under their own control the larger part of France. The French people resented this, of course, and desired to drive back to England these invaders who, not content with the land gained by William the Conqueror, were now invading the land of their own forefathers.

To resist these invaders was the dream of Joan of Arc and the following pages will tell the story of her impressions, of her conclusions, and of her actions. With a sublime patriotism she attained a splendid success; by some errors of judgment she met with frightful

reverses and by actual treachery was turned over to the English, then the common enemy, and lost her life as a martyr to the cause of the country. Of indomitable courage, confident of success in her noble cause, patriotic and determined, she set an example of faith in her own final success that thousands of our own soldiers are now emulating. To those who would explain what Joan of Arc accomplished as the work of a hallucinée or of an exalted and overwrought temperament we can only repeat after the great bard that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in their philosophy.

To understand Joan's liberating mission we must go back to the previous reign of Charles VI, father of the Dauphin whom Joan brought to Rheims to be crowned King of France. Under an insane King and a depraved queen France was then in a deplorable condition. It was at the time of the great schism of Occident and state and church were divided. Henry V, of Lancaster, King of England, thought the moment propitious to claim the crown of France as a descendant from Philippe le Bel by the female line. The salic law existed in France and the right of Charles to the throne was incontestable, but England felt strong against a kingdom shaken by internal divisions, and though the French princes, feeling their weakness, made humiliating concessions, Henry V invaded France, landing at the present site of Havre. He conquered Normandy after desperate resistance and expelled all those who would not recognize him as King of France. Then followed the battles of Poitiers, Crecy, and Agincourt where the French, *powerless* against overwhelming numbers, "could only die bravely." Henry V pursued his conquests, treating resistance as rebellion. During the siege of Rouen the French tried to negotiate with the King of England but he would listen to no proposals of peace and laid siege to Rouen which had belonged to France since the reigns of John Lackland and Philip Augustus. The burghers, who could leave the town left with the clothes they wore and two sous each. Rouen then became the scene of the first of the two executions which gave it renown, that of the immortal patriot, Alain Blanchard on whom the English satiated their fury for his heroic resistance. Civil war reigned in the other part of France; the Duke of Burgundy took Paris to revenge his father's assassination and swore allegiance to the King of England. The princes of the fleurs de lys summoned the English Ambassadors to Arras and made terms through them with Henry V, giving him Catherine de Valois, of France in marriage and recognizing him as King of France after the decease of Charles VII, and turning over to

him the greater part of the kingdom. The demented King signed this treaty under coercion of the wicked queen, Isabella of Bavaria, thereby disinheriting his son and handing France over to England. Henry took the title of Regent and heir of France and left for London to have his wife, Catherine, crowned queen of England. Henry V died in 1422 leaving an infant son, and Charles VI lived but a few weeks longer. At his death the Duke of Bedford, Regent of England, proclaimed Henry VI, King of France.

Charles, Dauphin of France, was then twenty years old, of a vacillating disposition, easily influenced, fond of pleasure, obstinate in his worst decisions, too indolent to exert himself and rise to the requirements of the moment, and lacking the fineness of feeling which could stir him to gratitude or appreciation. Queen Isabella of Bavaria and Duke Philip of Burgundy thought when they made the treaty of Arras that it would matter little to the ignorant, miserable people, used to servitude, whether they were under France or England, but indignation roused all who were not in the provinces occupied by the English to side with the Dauphin Charles. With all his weaknesses he represented the national party, all rallied to it and "le petit Roi de Bourges" as he was called reigned in their hearts, but the power of France seemed to have departed forever, when from the forest of Domremi, as had been foretold, came the liberator.

The hamlet of Domremi was a narrow strip of land lying between French and German territory. There, on Kings' day, January 6th, 1412, was born the humble shepherdess who was to save France and sacrifice her own life as the price of that deliverance. An ancient prophecy attributed to Merlin, the Celt, had come down through the centuries that the harm done by a depraved woman would be undone by a virgin, and that what the great and strong had failed to accomplish would be achieved by a lowly woman.

Of this prophecy Joan may not have known, but rumors of the strife and distress in the kingdom had reached that distant village fringed by forests of firs. She had fled with her family and the inhabitants before English and Burgundian soldiers, and had returned after their passage to find the church burnt and the village and her home pillaged. At the fifth centennial of Joan's birth (1912) this house still stood. There she lived with her father Jacques d'Arc, her mother, Isabella Vouchton, so called from her natal village, and surnamed Romée on account of a pilgrimage to Rome; she had a sister, Catherine, and three brothers Jacques, Jean and Pierre. There are still descendants of these brothers in France, bearing the name d'Arc. The family was ennobled in 1429 under the title of de

Lys. Near her home was the famous beech tree called the "Fairies' tree," or "le beau Mai" on which the village girls hung garlands of flowers; it is mentioned in many accounts of Joan's life as her favorite resort and was brought up at her trial in connection with the accusation of witchcraft. At the revision of the trial of Rouen the villagers who had known her testified that she went rarely to this tree. In her village she was called Jeanette as she told her judges: "In my country they called me Jeanette. Since my coming to France, they named me Jeanne. I was born at Domremi, which is one with the borough of Greux * * * * * I believe I am aged nineteen." She could neither read nor write, but "as to sewing and spinning she feared no woman in Rouen." Joan was but thirteen years old when she first heard the "voices" which were to lead her to victory and to a martyr's crown.

She believed that St. Michael, archangel of victory, guardian of France, came to her in a nimbus of light; at times he was accompanied by St. Gabriel, strength of God, and other angels, and St. Catherine and St. Margaret spoke to her often. From thirteen to sixteen she went about her daily duties faithfully, continually hearing the "voices" and the feeling growing stronger that the time had come for her to fulfil their behest. Her path was not an easy one but she allowed no obstacles to impede her mission. Her father would have preferred to drown her in the pond than to see her go among soldiers. She had been bidden to seek the Sieur Robert de Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, and to him she went, accompanied by an uncle, Bernard Paxart and a cousin. Baudricourt at first repulsed her but decided to send her to the King after she had given him proof of what seemed superhuman knowledge of a battle lost near Rouvray, which information could not reach him before several days, and which in that time was fully confirmed. Joan chafed under Baudricourt's hesitancy and declared that she must reach the King before Lent, if to do so, she "should wear out her legs to the knees, that none but herself could deliver France, that she would much prefer to remain at her spindle and distaff, near her poor mother, but "God willed it and she must go." In a letter written for her she begged forgiveness of her parents for the grief she inflicted. She cut her long hair and changed her peasant's dress for a military equipment, paid for by the villagers of Vaucouleurs. Her uncle and a rustic friend bought her a spotlessly white plough horse and Baudricourt handed her an ancient sword, telling her: "Go and come what may." As she passed through the gates of Vaucouleurs, transfigured by faith and joy that she had at last begun her mission, the peasants thronged around her to cheer her;

to their expressed pity she replied, "Do not pity me, I was born for this," and she went where the voices bade, her heart torn by separation from her family, disdainful of earthly love, her motto from then to the end: "God wills it."

The escort tendered by Baudricourt consisted of six armed men, and with them this girl of seventeen, in full winter, led the way through snow and a devastated country, passing unharmed and unnoticed, like an invisible wraith, through regions occupied by English soldiers, until she arrived at Chinon, in Tourraine, where Charles VII held his court.

Martin, in his *Hist. Populaire de France*, says that the dowager queen Yolande advised her son-in-law, Charles VII, to send for Joan; that the favorites George de la Tremoille and Regnault de Chartres, bishop of Rheims, who ruled the King and hoped to continue to reign, under his name, over the southern provinces, only remaining shreds of Charles' kingdom, could not brook the idea of any one coming between them and Charles to disturb their calculations and dissuaded him. They called her a lunatic and a witch and the discussions and quarrels lasted four days before Charles VII consented to grant her an audience.

Joan was ushered into the great reception hall of the chateau at Chinon. Fifty torches shed their flickering light over three hundred magnificently attired courtiers, the ladies with flowing veils had their trains held up by pages; the Count of Bourbon occupied the throne and the King, plainly dressed, was lost in the crowd. Without hesitating Joan went up to Charles and on her knees greeted him: "God give you long life, my prince." Charles indicated Bourbon, on the throne, as king. "In the name of God," she said, "you and no other are the King. Put me to work and our country will soon be saved. I am sent by God to succor you and your kingdom and put the English out of France. Why do you not believe me, I tell you God has taken pity on your kingdom and your people." She then asked to speak to him privately and proved the genuineness of her mission by the revelation of a question which had long harrassed his soul, and to which she brought the God given answer. The King sent her to an ecclesiastical tribunal at Poitiers, where, in a body, were the members of parliament and those of the University of Paris who had not gone over to the King of England. These learned doctors were not disposed to believe that it was given to a child to accomplish what had been denied to many great and wise men. All efforts to disconcert her failed and her answers were grand in their truth and simplicity. "Do you believe in God?" asked one of the

Doctors." "Better than you do," she promptly answered, and as he declared that no faith could be put in her words unless she showed a miracle, "Lead me to Orleans," she replied, "and I will show you the miracles for which I am sent. "Give me soldiers, as few as you choose, and, in God's name, I will raise the siege of Orleans and will bring the Dauphin to Rheims to be anointed and crowned; I will return Paris to him after his coronation and will obtain restitution of his kingdom. There is no use for so many words; it is no longer time to talk but to act."—H. Martin, *Hist. Populaire de France*.

As the Doctors searched the scriptures before deciding, she exclaimed; "There is more in God's books than in yours." After long deliberation this tribunal of Poitiers, appointed by civil and ecclesiastical authority, approved and accepted her mission. The finding of this tribunal was not brought forward to refute the iniquitous sentence of the tribunal of Rouen bound to satisfy the vengeance of the English.

Charles, on the strength of this decision, presented her with a white armor, and offered her a sword, but Joan protested that she would have no sword but that of St. Catherine de Fierbois, marked with five small crosses. It was found where the voices indicated and she carried it to victory.

She herself devised her banner and it was made at Tours: "On one side Christ seated on a cloud, in his left hand a globe, symbol of universal royalty; his right hand extended blessing the lily, (symbol of France.), presented by kneeling angels; below, the words Jesus, Marie. On the reverse figured the shield of France with its three fleurs de lis, carried by angels."—(Abbe Courbe.)

Before beginning operations against the enemy Joan despatched a courier to the besieging forces with the following summons:

"King of England, and you, Duke of Bedford, who call yourself Regent of the Kingdom of France, and you William, Count of Suffolk, return to Joan, who is here sent by God, King of Heaven, the keys of all the good towns you have taken in France.

"She is ready to make peace if you will consider reason and leave France. And you, Archers and Companions in war, who are before Orleans, go away, return to your country, by the will of God, and if you do not, await news of Joan who will soon visit you to your great damage.

"King of England, if you do not comply with this request, as chief of this war, in whatsoever spot I find your retainers on the soil of France, I shall force them to leave it whether they will or not. I am sent by God to put you out of the whole of France. If you

refuse to believe this from God and Joan, when we come to blows, we will see who is right. Answer if you desire peace in the city of Orleans, if you do not there will ensue great damages which you will remember."

Joan soon put her threats into effect. Under her heavy armor she held herself as if she had always worn it, and grandly rode at the head of her troops, under her own banner. She ordered her troops to attack the strongest position of the English and the captains, uncertain of her ability, led their forces where the enemy was weakest." "You thought," said Joan, "to deceive me and you have deceived yourselves, the counsels of God are surer than yours." To carry out her plan they had to cross the river Loire, she declared that the wind would veer; it did and the boats passed safely under the English cannons. That night she entered Orleans, mounted on her white horse, her banner in hand, amidst the wildest acclamations. Martin, in his "*Hist. de France*," says that these bold soldiers of England, so used to conquer that they would not have feared the most renowned warriors, were afraid of this child and believed themselves bewitched by her. Whilst Joan took a moment's rest, the French attacked one of the English bastions and were repulsed. Joan started from her sleep crying "the blood of France flows," and mounting her horse led the troops from defeat to victory. The English fell back and fortified themselves in the fort of Tournelles which the French captains advised her not to attack without re-enforcements; Joan, heedless of their advice, led the army against them, planted a ladder against the bulwark and went up first, Wounded by an arrow she halted long enough to have her wound attended to, and galloped back in time to enter as Tournelles was carried by the French. The demoralized English troops evacuated this region on the following day. Joan protected the fugitives from her soldiers, saying that she was satisfied to see them depart and asked nothing else. The enemy abandoned their sick and wounded, their artillery and baggage and retreated beyond the Loire to the country they had previously occupied. This army was to have finished the conquest of France, and Joan routed it in two campaigns of a week each. In the town which Joan liberated she is still commemorated yearly on the 8th of May.

She again urged the French King to come to Rheims to be anointed and crowned, repeating: "I shall not last much longer than a year, employ me well." In the month following these exploits she took Meung and Beaugenci and made the Count of Suffolk prisoner. The King hesitated and did not wish to follow Joan to Rheims.

According to ancient chronicles Charles had three vices; he was unstable, suspicious and envious, and historians of the time record that the great love of the people for Joan excited his jealousy. He refused to go to Rheims but the clamoring of the troops rose to a menace and forced him to accede to her request. There was a large extent of country to cover and conquer before reaching Rheims, but Joan, full of faith and confidence, led her troops on. When they reached Troyes they were without money, provisions or artillery, and, after a siege of five days, Charles convoked his council secretly, but Joan during the deliberation knocked loudly at the door and told the King to order the attack on Troyes, that the following day he would be master of the city. The place resisted until Joan's banner floated over the ramparts and then capitulated. Here she met some of the villagers of Demromi who had come to see her pass in glory; she treated them with the same frank affection she had been wont to show them in former days; they expressed astonishment at her boldness and asked her if she feared not death and she answered that she feared nothing but treason.

When they arrived at Rheims the inhabitants expelled their Burgundian governor and sent the keys of the city to Charles. On the morning of the coronation Queen Yolande arrived with her son, René d'Anjou, whom she had wedded to the daughter of the duke of Lorraine, and thereby brought Lorraine back to Charles' side. Whilst the archbishop anointed Charles and crowned him King of France, Joan stood at his side near the altar, holding her banner, and after the coronation threw herself at the King's feet telling him that her mission was accomplished; but Charles in his triumph had for the moment forgotten his jealousy and ordered her to remain near him. Joan had urged the Duke of Burgundy to be present at the coronation; instead of answering her call he had renewed his alliance with the English, and he and Bedford went to Paris to change the magistrates of whose sympathies they were not certain; they assembled the parliament, the university of Paris and the principal inhabitants of the city, exposed their plans and thus thought to hold Paris, and Charles, with his usual procrastination gave them ample time to fortify it and make it almost impregnable. Joan attacked Paris but was repulsed and wounded owing to the manoeuvres of the favorites who handicapped every effort she made. After her victory at St. Pierre le Moutier she was sent to Laon and her failure at this place gave the favorites the pretext, so eagerly sought for, to prevent other undertakings.

Joan determined to relieve Compiègne which the Duke of Burgundy had besieged. A few months previous she had been through this city and Agnes Sorel beautifully describes her passage, the crowd eager to see her, the children sending kisses, the aged weeping, and young girls strewing her path with flowers. This time she came to meet her doom, for jealousy, intrigues and revenge had culminated into treason. Régnault de Chartres was then in the city and Flavy, governor of Compiègne was related to him and protected by George de la Trémoille. They have gone down to posterity strongly suspected and Martin avers that if Flavy did not betray her beforehand he did nothing to save her. Frenchmen pulled her banner to the ground, and she was taken and brought to Margui. The English celebrated this victory over an overpowered woman as grandly as they had celebrated the victory of Agincourt. Régnault de Chartres rejoiced, and the English clergy looked on this prisoner with the glee of the tiger at the sight of blood. The infamous Cauchon was the intermediary between Bedford and the vassal of Burgundy who had taken her, and, with his own hand, paid the price set on her. She was transferred from one prison to another until she was finally brought to Rouen and put in an iron cage, and afterwards chained by her neck, hands and feet to a post in the centre of her dungeon. The University pleaded with Bedford to have her tried in Paris, but England was not too sure of Paris. The archiepiscopal see of Rouen was then vacant, but, under menace of Bedford, the Bishop of Beauvais was allowed to proceed against Joan in a diocese which was not his. The inquisition had long been a dead letter in France and was revived by Cauchon only to serve his purpose. He convened a tribunal to try her in the chapel of Rouen. In it were more than forty assessors, most of them taken from the University of Paris, the rest from Normandy. The tribunal of Poitiers was convened to judge her, that of Rouen to condemn her. The text is still extant of a letter from the University of Paris calling Cauchon to account for his procrastination in bringing his victim to trial: "If your Paternity (Paternité) had shown more diligence this woman would now be before her judges." (Ayrolles). On the same date the University congratulated the King of England on his having in his possession the "woman called the Maid," and pressed him to have her judged and punished by an ecclesiastical tribunal. Joan of Arc claimed her right to an ecclesiastical prison and to female attendants, but Cauchon was deaf to entreaties and protests, and she remained exposed to the raillery and insults of five barbarous soldiers, three within her prison and the other two at the door, and was only saved from greater indignities

by the indignation and protection of the Duchess of Bedford; but she was powerless to obtain justice for her and save her from death. After five months of torture, physically weak, but strong of spirit, she was brought before her judges and underwent interrogatories which generally lasted five hours. She seemed, says Martin, "to judge her judges." Cauchon presided over this so called ecclesiastical court," belonging to the church," says Ayrolles, "as much as the wolf under the shepherd's cloak belongs to the fold." Joan reiterated her demand for a court authorized to judge her, for doctors and priests of her party and Cauchon insolently answered that the King of England had ordered him to try her and that he would obey. Two of the Normans protested against the proceedings; one was imprisoned and the other returned to Normandy. Cauchon himself, amazed by her simple eloquence, uttered the words which were afterwards judicially transcribed: "She speaks admirably of her revelations." (Trial Doc.)

Exposed to the reviling crowd on the pillory of St. Ouen, she retained her dignified bearing notwithstanding the mitre of shame which crowned her girlish head. To overcome Joan's firmness in truth, which they classed as obstinacy, it was suggested to submit her to torture, though there was a law forbidding to inflict it on women, children, or weak persons. Of thirteen judges two voted for this abomination: Courcelles one of the instigators of the schism, and Loyseleur, unworthy priest and spy, whom Cauchon had taken from the University of Paris. Quicherat describes the University of Paris as it was then: "an ecclesiastical body, almost secular in its attributes, independent by its privileges, dominating the Gallician church to which it imparted its spirit." It was wholly under the control of the Duke of Burgundy and of England and Joan was doomed. That her fate had been decided before she faced her judges is proven by Bedford's reproach to Cauchon when he thought that some justice would be shown her. After the pretended retraction he accused him of having let her escape: "Be quiet," replied Cauchon, "we will get her again."

A month before her execution, Joan was very ill and physicians were called in, not relieve her, but to save her from a natural death, for declared Warwick, the King had paid a high price for her and intended that she should be burned at the stake by decree of court. (Proces. Doc.)

"Be careful," said Joan to the Bishop of Beaquvais, "to judge wisely, for, in truth, I am sent by God. Whether you send me to

death or not the English will none the less be put out of France, excepting those who remain as corpses."

Among the seventy articles of accusation was one denouncing the veneration of the crowds for the young virgin; he stated that there were images of her in the basilicas, medals representing her, and that the people considered her more as an angel than a woman. Cauchon afterwards reduced these seventy articles to twelve, eliminating all brutal insults, leaving only what would justify her condemnation.

When they asked her if she submitted to the church, (they should have specified the church as represented by Cauchon), Joan answered that she had been sent by the triumphant church and that she submitted all she had done to that church, that she preferred death to denial of her mission. Then, feeling that she had sealed her fate, she asked for a woman's garment to go to death. She was not tortured but the University of Paris advised the King to hand her over to secular justice, as soon as possible, to pay the penalty of her crimes and praised that beast of prey, Cauchon, "for having stopped the spread of the venom with which a perfidious woman had infected the western cradle of Christianity." When the decision of the University was transmitted to Joan she protested that she would affirm all that she had said even in the flames, unto death. She received her sentence in the cemetery of St. Ouen and here again defended her ungrateful King.

Worn out by ill treatment, the strain of her trial and bodily weakness, at the sight of the fatal cart and the executioner her courage faltered for a moment and she murmured: "I will obey the church." When Cauchon produced the formula which was read to her and which she signed it was simply a submission to the church. "I prefer," she said, *to live than to burn*, "to sign than to burn." She was but nineteen, when life is at its best; she had no dreams of a possible future, gilded by love, which would help her to drift peacefully and happily to the age when all dreams are but memories, for her whole being had merged into intense faith in her mission, but youth was in her heart and soul, it was hard to give up the joy of living, the sun, the air, the breath of the flowers, and above all the satisfaction of success before its complete achievement. Still she did not lose faith in her voices. She declared that they had promised her deliverance and had kept that promise by delivering her from sin and hatred to give her heaven. They gave her the long robe she had requested, they placed on her head the mitre of shame and she ascended the cart of doom; then a man, harried by remorse, from out of the crowd, reached her side,

and in halting, sobbing accents, with gestures of despair, implored her forgiveness for his share in her death. With angelic mercy Joan granted this pardon, but to posterity the name of Loyseleur will ever remain one of infamy. All the English troops were on foot and 800 men formed her escort to the funeral pyre; these forces were necessary, for Martin tells us that, if it had been possible, the grief of the populace would have turned into insurrection.

The English had ordered her ashes to be thrown into the Seine and when the executioner came to carry out this order he found that her heart had escaped immolation, but not desecration, since it was thrown into the river with her ashes. It had survived the holocaust just as her great love for France and France's love for her have survived through five centuries and still brings inspiration to her people.

Dunand in "*Jeanne D'Arc d'apres les documents*" comparing the Joan of Arc of the Fifteenth century, of the University of Paris, and the Joan of loyal Frenchmen of today, says that two very different pictures were presented by the personages who tried and condemned her and by those who had daily witnessed her life and her sincerity and testified at the revision of the trial of Rouen.

The bishop of Beauvais in falsifying testimony and forging incriminating documents to besmirch her memory, in trying to attach to it the stain of imposture and perjury sought to cover his own perfidity.

Mr. Achille Luchaire of the University of Paris does not mince his words. "I shall never," declared he, "cover with my guarantee the strange posthumous document added to the trial, which bears no signature, and which a recorder (*greffier*) has formally refused to validate. I admire the blind confidence of scientists who answer for the historical value of the requisitory of 70 articles and for that of the 12 submitted to the University of Paris." Speaking of the scene in the cemetery of St. Ouen, where Joan is said to have signed a retraction, the learned Doctor affirms that no one will vouch that the short cedula read to her and signed by her was the same one transcribed by Cauchon in Latin and in French in the minutes of the trial. He writes that a certificate of loyalty and sincerity should be awarded to the bishop of Beauvais, whom Anatole France calls a scoundrel (*un scélerat*), or that all the witnesses who testified at the revision of the trial of Rouen should be classed as perjurers.

The English did not evacuate Rouen before 1449 and in 1450 the King of France ordered Bouille to go over the documents of Joan of Arc's trial of 1430. On request of her relatives, the revision was ordered by the Pope and strongly seconded by the tardy gratitude of

Charles VII. Her mother had the satisfaction of seeing her rehabilitation two years before her death, and the people of France from that day honored her as their saint. Not the people were ungrateful nor forgerful but the weak, indolent King who left her linger in prison without protest, and finally allowed her to be burnt at the stake without claiming his right to ransom her, and without questioning the right of the infamous Cauchon and the anti-papal University of Paris to sit in judgment on their victim.

Through five centuries the efforts made to belittle Joan of Arc have not succeeded, and from one of the most eager to achieve this task comes her best defense, for he has combined in one work the documents of the trial of Rouen and those of the revision and rehabilitation.

Michelet, cited by Ayrolles as one of those who tried to explain Joan's "hallucination," analyses her character: "The originality of the maid was not mostly in her valiance nor in her visions but in her *good sense*. Without knowing it, she created, it may be said, and realized her own ideas; from the treasures of her own virginal life she communicated to them an omnipotent existence before which paled the miserable realities of this world."—(Michelet, *Hist. de France*.) Does this carry persuasion, does it explain satisfactorily the knowledge which came to her of things she did not see nor hear of? Of fifteen predictions simply given by her as messages from above, eleven were realized during her lifetime and the others were verified after her death.

Now, let us cite another wiseacre, Quicherat, who has studied and judged this world and the one beyond it: "The idea I form of the little girl of Domremi is that of a serious and religious child, gifted to the highest degree with that intelligence apart which we meet only in superior men of primitive societies. Generally alone in church or in the fields, she was absorbed in profound communion of thought with the saints whose images she contemplated in the heavens where her eyes seemed often to be fixed. To that fountain, those trees, those woods, sanctified by superstition as old as the world, she communicated her sublime anxiety, and in their murmur she tried to discern the accents of her heart—moved by the sufferings of men, by the spectacle of war, confirmed in the faith that a just cause should be defended at the price of any sacrifice; she saw her duty."—(Nouveaux aperçus de Jeanne d'Arc.) Fine words, but sophisms!

He too, is a dreamer trying to deny reality because it appears to him strange and improbable. Ayrolles declares that the peasants of Domremi testified that Joan was not a dreamy child, that she tended

the flocks but rarely, followed her father to his labor, helped him to cultivate the ground and in her home performed a woman's occupations sewing, spinning and even seeing to the cattle. Days so full of work did not allow her much leisure to "remain with her eyes fixed on the skies."

Joan of Arc is held in veneration by all nations. Queen Victoria of England ordered a painting of the Maid of Orleans for her private apartments, and among the prelates chosen to pass judgment on her life there was one from England.

"Joan of Arc," writes Dunand, "is more than an individuality in the history of the civilized world. She is the personification of the French soul, full of faith and chivalry, and that soul may be oppressed but never suppressed." For all minds fine enough to understand her, she will always remain a radiant incarnation of purity, faithfulness, courage and patriotism, and the embodiment of all the characteristics which made France the cradle of chivalry, and in our day, gains her recognition as a peer among nations.

HELOISE HULSE CRUZAT.



THE FRENCH CONSUL'S ADDRESS

Address Delivered by Mr. E. F. Genoyer de Bournety, Consul
of France, at the Joan of Arc Celebration Held at the
Cabildo Under the Auspices of the Louisiana
Historical Society, May 1st, 1918.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, Gentlemen:

I am to be congratulated on having been invited as a representative of my government to take part in this night's imposing ceremony, and in being able to join you in the pious homage paid to the great French Maid.

It does not behoove me to enter into lengthy details. Others have told of the ideal and unique glory surrounding her chaste forehead with the purest and most luminous halo, before your dazzled eyes has suddenly risen the exalted vision of the sweet child of Domremy, whose countenance, at first indistinct, is suddenly illumined when she becomes conscious of the liberating mission devolved on her. With melancholy and almost severe gravity the young girl, erect and proudly mounted on her mighty steed, rises in history as the symbol of calm confidence in civic virtues, of unalterable faith in imminent justice, and, above all, as the symbol of victorious patriotism.

However, I would wish to invoke that mysterious influence, generator of sublime self-sacrifice, which in the wind of battles ripples the folds of Joan's banner, hovering during five centuries over our race, giving to its children in tragic hours the calm strength of defenders of the right, immovable rock against which are ever unfurled the impotent waves of despotism and barbarism.

Never has our national heroine abandoned us. Today as yesterday and tomorrow the palladium of her memory protects us. It floats as a fiery breath over there, over the trenches, where, with courage probably unconscious of its origin, and scant realization of the infinite power of the chaste talisman he holds the glorious spoil of the Marne, of the Somme leaps forward to the conquest of happiness for future generations, in his heart the same abnegation, the same spirit of whole souled devotedness and self-sacrifice, the same faith in his mission and the same certainty of victory, and moreover, with the joy of knowing that if he falls before the final triumph, at

least by his fall, he opens the way to those back of him who will bring to the world a new era of justice and liberty.

But Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot selfishly claim solely for my countrymen the inspiration of Joan's example and her protection. Like us you have pledged her the most fervent cult; she belongs to you by the rights which worshippers acquire to the revered object. I shall say more, she belongs to all nations of the universe worthy of her, being one of those immortal figures that dominate time and space, and before whom national frontiers crumble.

Certainly she is yours by justice and right, yours by solid ties, perhaps as much as ours, for you have followed the path outlined by her virtue creating enthusiasm, and your act has repeated five centuries later her act of liberation.

Young America rising to claim the honor of defending what is just and right is another Joan of Arc, dashing forward for the deliverance of the world. Before your legions in greenish khaki, on the distant battle fields, over there, across the Atlantic, I see a virgin sword, scintillating and invincible leading us to entire victory.



THE STATUETTE OF JOAN OF ARC; ITS PRESENTATION AND ACCEPTANCE

As stated elsewhere in this issue of THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, the statuette of Joan of Arc presented by the New York Museum of French Art, through its Vice-President, Honorable J. Sanford Saltus, to the Louisiana Historical Society on May, 1 1918, was accepted on behalf of the Society by Hon. Andre Lafargue, and in the following terms.

*Mr. Consul, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,
My Fellow American Citizens:*

"I am deeply grateful to my colleagues of the Louisiana Historical Society for the great honor which they have conferred upon me by selecting me as their spokesman, to acknowledge and accept on their behalf the beautiful, artistic and most ornate statue presented to our Society, but a minute ago, with such feeling eloquence and in such an impressive manner, by Mr. J. Sanford Saltus, Vice-President of the Museum of French Art, the generous donor.

"We are thankful to the Museum of French Art, and to Mr. Saltus, its representative, not only for the gift itself, which we prize very highly and to which we have given a place of honor in our precious collection of historic relics and valued donations, but likewise for the thoughtfulness and happy inspiration that prompted its presentation at so opportune a time.

"I am sure that had the donor consulted us and had we given mature deliberation to the matter, we should have chosen unhesitatingly just such a gift and would have asked that it be made at just such a time. In fact, it might be proper to state here that the delegation which France would have sent to New Orleans to attend the Bi-Centennial festivities which it had been contemplated would be held this year, and which we have had to postpone on account of the exigencies of the present war situation, intended to present our beloved city with a bronze replica of the equestrian statue of Joan of Arc as it stands today on the Place du Martroi, at Orleans, the elder sister city, on the banks of the River Loire, in France.

"The Museum of French Art has therefore made to our Society, and through it to the people of New Orleans, a most timely gift, and one which we shall ever associate with the two hundredth anni-

versary of the founding of our great metropolis by Bienville and his doughty companions.

"At all times we of Orleans—a city whose name is almost similar to that of the old French city, which Joan of Arc rescued some five hundred years ago and restored to its rightful owners—have held in deep reverence and profound admiration the memory of the gentle shepherdess of Lorraine, whose wonderful career and supernatural achievements, whose purity of life and intense patriotism, whose angelic piety and steadfastness of purpose, and whose indomitable will and heroic martyrdom, we have always contended, constitute the most beautiful and soul-inspiring example that Christian civilization has ever recorded. And in this, our time of need and sore trial, when we are called upon to exercise and display so many of the qualities of mind and heart which the Maid of Orleans was supernaturally endowed with, we look to her for comfort and renewed inspiration.

"In spirit she must have hovered over the gallant soldiers who saved the day for civilization on the banks of the Marne, who stemmed the hordes of barbarism on the Yser, and who later on at Verdun faced the enemy proudly and said in thunderous tones, 'On ne passe pas'—'You will not pass,' and as of yore, when she led her countrymen to victory and to undying fame, clad in her coat of mail and holding in her right hand her fluttering pennant, she must have appeared to the soldiers of France, or her martial image must have filled their minds, whenever the poilus had to contend with a foe vastly superior to them in number and equipment. Invisibly, but none the less surely and effectively, the wonderful example of Joan of Arc has endowed her countrymen of today with a spiritual and moral force that has made them absolutely invincible.

"She is the faithful guardian angel of her beloved France and through her shining example, one that has fired her countrymen of today to deeds of valor and heroism unheard of before, she fights for her native land as she did five hundred years ago, at a time when there was but little left of the Kingdom of France and when an invading foe, aided by the Burgundians themselves, was about to establish his supremacy over the fair land of Clovis, of Charles Martel and of St. Louis.

"Nearly five hundred years have elapsed since the Maid of Orleans was burned at the stake in the old Market Square at Rouen, but time has not effaced from the memory of her countrymen the wonderful and well-nigh miraculous image of the young shepherdess of Domremy, of the humble peasant girl, who single-handed and though beset by difficulties and confronted with obstacles that would

have appeared hopelessly insurmountable to one possessed of less strength of character and of less devotion to her native land, accomplished that which the then uncrowned and vacillating King of France and his foremost generals had failed to bring about, namely, the restoration of the Kingdom of France to the legitimate royal house and the raising of the sieges of all the important places which the English and the Burgundians had established south of Paris.

"Joan of Arc's achievements shine today with an incomparable lustre which years can never bedim or efface. The little village of Domremy, standing today, as of yore, in all of its simplicity and rustic grace, on the banks of the River Meuse, along which the Maid of Orleans was wont to lead her flock of gentle sheep to their pasture lands near Vaucouleurs, is visited yearly by thousands of Frenchmen and people from all over the world who go there to pay homage due to the memory of the Maid of Orleans. How well do I remember the place, with its narrow and tortuous main street, on each side of which old-time low-roofed stone structures stand. The village is situated right close to the Meuse, which an old-time stone bridge spans almost in front of the house where Joan of Arc was born. Standing in the middle of the bridge one has a wonderful view of the stream as it meanders in the distance. The house where the Maid of Orleans was born is built of stone and is topped by a long slanting roof, one end of which nearly touches the ground. It is a very simple and modest-looking habitation, one which the peasants of the time of the better class used as a dwelling. It has not been altered in any way and doubtless would the gentle Joan of Arc ever come back to life she would recognize it unhesitatingly as the one in which she spent the greater part of her brief but none the illustrious career.

"From earliest infancy to the day on which she breathed her last words, 'O France, O my beloved King,' while the great flames that arose from the funeral pyre curled about her virginal form, she set an example of self-sacrifice and of heroic devotion to her native country, which we may well follow in the troublesome times that we are going through.

"Never has history at any time recorded greater love of country than that which Joan of Arc showed. She had truly made the supreme sacrifice from the day that her heavenly visitations impelled her to the unshakable belief that her mission in this world was to save the Kingdom of France.

From that time unto the hour of her death her sole and uppermost thought, her only purpose in life, whatever the cost, whatever the sacrifice, were to rescue France from the hands of the enemy and

to see that the rightful ruler of that country came back into his own. She cared nothing for worldly honors nor was she deterred in her heaven-appointed mission by the petty jealousies and dark intrigues which her military successes gave rise to. After she had had the young King crowned and anointed in solemn pomp in the great basilica at Rheims—which the sacrilegious and barbarous Teutons of today have demolished—she might well have considered that her task was at an end. On the day that she stood near the main altar of the Cathedral of Rheims, like an angel of light and celestial beauty, wearing shining coat of mail and grasping firmly the white standard emblazoned with the name of God and of her country, while Charles VII was being proclaimed to his attendants in martial array, King of France, she had reached the crowning point of her career.

"She was the well-beloved of her countrymen, they all hailed her, and rightfully so, as the savior of the Kingdom of France; she was the idol of the populace, and had she so desired she could have spent the balance of her life in ease, in luxury, and loaded with honors. She was greater than the King himself. for she had done that which the King without her assistance could have never accomplished. She had truly saved France. But Joan of Arc, in her great love for her country, felt that her mission was not ended. The foe was still in France. Paris was still in the hands of the enemy. There was further need for her soul-inspiring example. She knew that her presence and her leadership were an incentive to noble and heroic deeds. And so, while well aware of the many plots that were being hatched for her ultimate downfall by those who were jealous of what she had accomplished and while conscious of the fact that the King himself was showing but little gratitude for what she had done she remained with the French Army and kept up the fight against the enemy until, betrayed and forsaken by those for whom she had made such heroic sacrifices, she fell into the hands of the Burgundians at Compeigne, after being seriously wounded. She was subsequently sold and turned over to the English, who had her tried by a mixed ecclesiastical and laical tribunal that condemned her to be burned alive on the old Market Place at Rouen.

"Has history furnished at any time a nobler or more soul-inspiring example of self-sacrifice than the one set by the Maid of Orleans? I think not. Joan was but a frail and youthful peasant girl, who might well have shrunk from the great and crushing task which she knew Providence had assigned to her. She was but a plain and uneducated young woman, who knew little of the world and who might well have felt that her life should not be spent amid the clash of

arms and in the company of rude and untutored soldiers. She must have time and again pleaded with her heavenly visitors to spare her the ordeals and bitter trials that she knew would come to her while discharging her mission. But from the day that the full consciousness grew upon her that her country was being sorely tried and that her intervention might save it, like the true French heroine that she was she answered the call fearlessly, though this meant that she had to part once and forever from her dear ones, her beloved native village and from all the alluring and appealing scenes of her girlhood. Her patriotism, her love of country, were such as to transfigure her completely. In the eyes of her countrymen she no longer appeared as a frail and youthful peasant girl.

"When she rode at their head astride her white charger, leading them to the fray and setting an example of bravery and valor such as they had never seen before on the part of a woman, she must have looked to them as an angel of Heaven, descended from the clouds, to point the way to victory and undying fame. From that time her image has ever been present to the mind of the soldiers of France whenever they have charged the enemy. It is not surprising, therefore that they should have seen Joan of Arc descend from Heaven in a cloud of glory to lead them to victory on the banks of the Marne. The 'Miracle of the Marne' is thus explained. Her heavenly sponsors, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Marguerite and St. Catherine, had once more given her the opportunity of saving France, and thereby the world at large.

"Well may we look therefore to her for sustenance and inspiration in this hour of peril and national ordeal. Well may we follow her wonderful example of unbounded patriotism and of all that it calls for in the way of sacrifice and stoicism. The time has come indeed when our country demands of us the full measure of our love and devotion. Shall we be found wanting? Shall it be said that we are not worthy of the sacred patrimony of liberty handed down to us by our illustrious forefathers? Or shall we, like the Maid of Orleans, respond to our country's call, clad in the shining armor of justice and grasping in our hands the flaming sword of American righteousness of civilization, so that through the supreme sacrifice made by our boys on the altar of the country and through our own sufferings we may spare future generations the horrors and the toll of war?

"Joan of Arc, thou pure and gentle maid; thou, whose love of country knew no bounds; who willingly and cheerfully gave up thy life for the sake of thy native land, teach us how to be stout of

heart, strong of mind and brave of soul, at this, the great crisis of our nation. 'Lead thou us on.'

"Maid of Orleans, thou gallant and immortal spirit, give us the ardor and the courage, the fortitude and the indomitable will to win on the battle-field and to practice at home the civic virtues which alone can bring us full and final victory. 'Lead thou us on.'

"As thou didst, some five hundred years ago, when thou didst lead the French armed hosts, show our lads in France the way to victory and to immortality. 'Lead thou them on.'

"All hail to thee, thou heavenly martial spirit. New Orleans and its inhabitants are proud to have been made the custodians of thy beautiful and soul-inspiring image. We gladly place ourselves under thy protection and spiritual leadership. 'Lead thou us on.' "



**PRESENTATION OF THE STATUETTE OF JOAN OF ARC
TO THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
MAY 1 1918.**

A sketch of the life of Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans, brings into view that capital town in France to which our capital city of New Orleans traces its name, and brings it to mind the fact that the Roman Emperor Aurelian in A. D. 271 defeated the Germans thereabouts and it was called Aurelianensis, or Aurelian's City, and from his name came the name of the province also and through gradual changes it became Orleans, a word of three syllables, accented on the second, and in English pronounced Orleanz. That momentous affairs have attached thereto is evidenced by the fact that an insurrection developed there B. C. 52 against the victorious Caesar and that Attila was successfully resisted there in A. D. 451 and in 1429 the Maid of Domremy, known afterwards as the Maid of Orleans, began her short career.

In the Bi-centennial celebration ceremonies in Paris of the founding of New Orleans on October 24th, 1917, a full account of which is given in Volume 1, No. 3, the Bicentennial Committee of New Orleans visited Orleans with the purpose of requesting the Bishop of Orleans to come to New Orleans for the purpose of joining in such celebration here as might occur. The inability of the Bishop to comply with this request at the time and later the increasing seriousness of the war situation in Europe, led to the postponement for the time being at least, of this later celebration.

Later on, and incidental to the activities of the Louisiana Historical Society, Mr. John Sanford Saltus of New York, Vice-President of the New York Museum of French art, then a visitor in New Orleans and appreciating as he did the efforts we were making in New Orleans to develop a proper pride in our own progress and history, conceived the idea of presenting to the Society a bronze equestrian statue of Joan of Arc, the "Maid of Orleans." From the Duke of Orleans we get the name of our own great city, in this new world. There was something quite apropos in the whole matter. The French ancestry of many of our people, the great war now going on with more than a million of our men in France, joining there our French, English and Italian Allies, now conquering the Germans, as did the Emperor Aurelian two thousand years ago, we seize gladly the poetical belief

in the Maid of Orleans, and accepted from the New York Society of French Art the beautiful equestrian statuette of Joan of Arc, proceeding to battle for the wonderful victories she won.

The historic Cabildo, over which have waved four different flags, representing the successive changes of governments in Louisiana, witnessed May 1st, 1918, a mingling of all the flags, which with our own, are now engaged in the great struggle for civilization and democracy against barbarism.

The occasion then was the presentation to the Society of the statue which is a replica in reduced size of the one on Riverside Drive, New York City, the gift of the Museum of French Art, represented by Mr. John Sanford Saltus. The statue measures 52½ inches from its base to the point of the sword. The pedestal is 38 inches high, 40 inches, long and 22 inches wide. On its face it bears the shield with the lillies and crown of France. The stone is one of those purchased by the Joan of Arc statue committee of New York through the efforts of Mr. Kunz of New York, and of Mr. Beaurepaire of Rouen, France. It was one of the 229 blocks of limestone which came from the "small staircase turret of the chateau of Rouen," where Joan of Arc awaited her death five hundred years ago.

Hon. W. O. Hart was selected as master of ceremonies, an elaborate programme was prepared and carried out in all its details with a degree of excellence that was a surprise to the large number of members and others present at the Society's special meeting to accept Mr. Saltus' beautiful gift. We precede this article with a fine half-tone cut of the statue now in position on Riverside Drive, New York City.

After the invocation by Abbe Marcel Souris, there was appropriate music, then followed the entrance of the color bearers, who were introduced one by one by Judge Henry Renshaw in very terse but telling terms, and the colors were bestowed on them by Mrs. W. C. C. Claiborne as follows: The French tri-color to Miss Elvidge Gondon; the colors of Orleans to Miss Clarisse Claiborne; the Maid's colors to Miss Leola Stanton; Old Glory to Miss Nellie S. Hart; the flag of Louisiana to Miss Louise Hyman; the flag of New Orleans to Miss Edna Rhodes and the pennant of Joan of Arc to Miss Nathalie Settoon.

With more appropriate music from skilled artists, then there came the main event of the evening, the presentation through Mr. J. Sanford Saltus, Vice-President of the Museum of French Art and Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, on behalf of the Museum, of the statue of Joan of Arc. After appropriate music the statue was then

unveiled by General W. J. Behan, one of the delegates sent to France by the New Orleans Bi-Centennial Committee. In this General Behan was assisted by Hon. A. G. Ricks, acting mayor of New Orleans, and by Hon. Gaspar Cusachs, President of the Louisiana Historical Society.

This done, Hon. Andre Lafargue, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and chairman of the Bi-Centennial Commission to the Paris Celebration in October, 1917, accepted the gift on behalf of the Society. This was done with a degree of appreciation, of earnestness and of eloquence that was very impressive.

Mr. Lafargue then presented to the Society a medal from the town of Domremy, the birth place of Joan of Arc and the same was accepted by the president, Hon. Gaspar Cusachs. Exquisite and appropriate music then followed, after which Miss Ethel May Gutman, read her original poem, A Tribute to Joan of Arc. Mr. Saltus then presented Miss Gutman with the Joan of Arc book and medal.

The gifts of flowers for the occasion were profuse and were beautiful and were from the following persons:

From Museum of French Art, Joan of Arc Statue Committee, French Branch Y. M. C. A., Jeanne D'Arc Home, (French Nuns), Joan of Arc Public School No. 93, Mr. and Mrs. Robert James Campbell, Mons. and Mme. Jules Antoine Guillaune, The American Numismatic Society, The Salmagundi Club, The Fencer's Club, and Mr. J. Sanford Saltus, all of New York, the New Orleans Carnival; Mrs. Sanford Bissell, of Washington; Mons. and Mme. Frank Edwin Scott, of Paris; Major Susthene Behn, United States Army, "Somewhere in France"; Mons. Hernand Behn, of Havana; Mme. Lucchetti and Mlle. Madeleine Luchetti, of San Juan, Porto Rico, and Captain and Mrs. Wyndham, of Langford, England, and Mrs. Charles Dreux Andre.

The next number on the programme was an excellent address by Hon. W. J. Waguespack on the history and conception of the flag of New Orleans. Mr. Couret followed, presenting a symbolic picture of the evolution of the flag, which was accepted by President Cusachs. The Flag Committee of the Bienville Bi-Centennial Committee then presented the gold medals to the designers of the New Orleans city flag, Mr. Bernard Barry and Mr. H. Gustave Couret. This was followed by a short address by the French Consul in New Orleans, Hon. G. F. Genoyer.

Before closing the Star Spangled Banner was sung and the benediction was pronounced by Rev. Father Carra and the ceremonies were over. The Committee on Arrangments included Hon. John

Dymond, chairman, Hon. Gaspar Cusachs, Judge Henry Renshaw, Hon. W. O. Hart, Mrs. W. C. C. Claiborne, Colonel Hughes, J. de la Vergne, Andre Lafargue, Hon. Martin Behrman, Bussiere Eouen, W. J. Waguespack, General W. J. Behan, Mrs. Benjamin Ory, Robert Glenk, Mrs. Christian Schertz, and John F. C. Waldo. William Kernan Dart was chairman of the Reception Committee. The music, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Helen Pitkin Schertz, was exceptionally appropriate and beautiful and elicited the admiration of all the hearers, and the beauty of the color bearers, chosen by Mrs. Benjamin Ory, was very marked. This Joan of Arc celebration of the Louisiana Historical Society will go down in its annals as one of the most successful ever held.



A PLEASING INCIDENT OF THE JOAN OF ARC STATUETTE PRESENTATION

If we may combine the present with the past the following exchange of pleasant words between Secretary Bussiere Rouen of our Historical Society and Mr. T. Sanford Saltus, of the New York Society of French Art, ought to accomplish it.

The messages were as follows: Mr. T. Sanford Saltus, Hotel Seville, New York: My dear Mr. Saltus: I have the honor and the great pleasure of informing you that on its meeting May 21st, the Louisiana Historical Society has, by a unanimous vote, conferred upon you the title of "Honorary Member." We are still under the charm of the ceremonies brought about by your great kindness to the Society, and by the generous gift of the beautiful statuette of Joan of Arc, which is admired by all those who appreciate true art. With renewed assurance of our sincerest gratitude, I remain, my dear Mr. Saltus, very sincerely yours, Bussiere Rouen, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

These lines brought from Mr. Saltus the following response: "Your letter of May 22nd is received. I cannot tell you how touched I am by the great and unexpected honor you have conferred upon me by making me an honorary member of the Louisiana Historical Society. All I can do is to return you all my heartfelt thanks," and signed T. Sanford Saltus, Hotel Seville, New York.

OLD ORLEANS GREET'S NEW ORLEANS

JULY 4, 1918

The great war now going on brings about some pleasant scenes as well as many sad ones, and of the former, a very notable one occurred in the old city of Orleans, on the Loire in France, on July 4, 1918. Miss Rosina Wolfson, who has been serving in an American Red Cross hospital in France, in a recent letter to her uncle in New Orleans, Mr. Max Dinkelspiel, describes the celebration as inspiring in the highest degree, it being joined in by young and old, by the American soldiery and by the French. It brings to mind the days of George Washington, of Lafayette and Rochambeau, and of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown and of Pershing's recent memorable utterance at the tomb of Lafayette in France: "Lafayette, we are here."

Miss Wolfson's letter gives an excellent, sympathetic and appreciative account of the whole affair which we take from the columns of the *Times-Picayune*. She says:

"It seems to me only right and fitting that the people of New Orleans should know how our national holiday of Independence Day was celebrated here in Old Orleans on this 4th of July, 1918 and war times.

"I can only tell the story very badly and very hastily, but in some way New Orleans should hear how the citizens of the ancient town of Orleans were moved to do all in their power to welcome our soldiers and express their feelings for our great republic.

"Although there has not been a fete in Orleans since the beginning of the war, this city, in common with the rest of France, decided to celebrate the Fourth of July as though it were its own national holiday.

"The mayor and municipal council decreed the day a legal holiday and invited all the citizens to decorate their houses with the American flag.

"On the morning of the Fourth, we awoke to find the old city absolutely transformed. Every street was gay with bunting and the Star-Spangled Banner and the tricolor predominated in the mass of color which was displayed. All the flags of the Allies were hung out, but the French and American emblems were the favorites.

"The beautiful old red brick sixteenth century Hotel de Ville was magnificently decorated and over the principal square of the

town, the Place du Martroi, a huge American flag was hung, and the Stars and Stripes were also massed around the fine equestrian statue of Joan of Arc, the patron saint of Orleans, which dominates the square.

"Very early the people began to line the streets and at 9 o'clock, when the American soldiers began their march through the city, they were greeted by a dense crowd which showered flowers upon them, and whose cheers of welcome resounded on every side.

"Our khaki-clad men were momentarily halted outside the oldest church in Orleans, St. Enverte, by another great crowd which pressed around them as they made their way into the hoary church where mass was celebrated in their honor. The bishop of Orleans in a splendid address spoke of the welcome, the admiration, the gratitude of France for the Americans. Although our men could not understand his words, the great bishop's kindly smile, his gestures and the efforts he made to pronounce the names our countrymen cherish—Washington, Lincoln, Patrick Henry, Bunker Hill and Belleau Wood—translated to them his effort to express the fact that our heritage of the past and our triumphs and sacrifices of the present are equally sacred to the French people, who are making a place for our history in their hearts beside the glorious story of their own race just as they are giving equal honor to our new soldiers beside their own heroes of the Marne, the Yser, Artois, Champagne, the Somme and the Oise.

" 'Lafayette and Rochambeau,' said the bishop, 'with their men and the money lent by the almost bankrupt government of Louis XVI sowed gratitude and obligation on the soil of the thirteen struggling American colonies in 1776, and today in the greatest hour of trial the French nation is reaping a million-fold harvest from the forty-eight proud American states who are sending their sons, their gold, and their provisions to fight for the triumph of the cause of liberty and right in France.'

"In the afternoon, after the soldiers had been given a gala luncheon, it was the time of the secular authorities to receive them.

"The prefect of the department, the mayor of Orleans, the French general commanding the Fifth Region and representatives of the government, the courts, the professions and industries of the city were seated on the stage of a great hall. The American officers stationed in Orleans and the delegate of the American Red Cross and the visiting American officers were invited to sit on the stage beside their French hosts. The great hall was packed. Our men in khaki were surrounded by the blue-clad soldiers of France.

Special places were reserved for the wounded and the mutilated. The rest of the hall was filled with the citizens of Orleans. Mr. Fernand Rabier, the deputy and mayor of Orleans, presided and in a fine speech told our men how very welcome they were in this city, which to receive them had given itself up to rejoicing for the first time since the war began in 1914. He then read them the telegram which he had sent in the name of the people of Orleans 'to the President of the United States, and to the mayor of that sister city of our own in your land, on the banks of the Mississippi, which we are proud to feel shares our name, New Orleans.' Mr. Rabier also announced that two streets in the city of Orleans were to be renamed that day; one to be known in the future as the 'Rue President Wilson,' and the other as the 'Rue Nouvelle Orleans.'

"Next, Mr. Henri Roy, the other deputy from Orleans, spoke and told how France shared in the pride of the Americans that this anniversary of the Independence of the United States was being celebrated by all the Allied nations as the dawn of the independence of the world. 'Heavy night clouds still obscure the sky, but the first rays of the sun have pierced through, giving sure promise of the light to come,' he said.

"To the men in front of him, French and Americans, he felt there was no need of reopening the justice of the cause. Many of them had already fought, suffered and bled for it and bore the scars of battles on their bodies and souls. In today's emotions, the memory of comrades who have fallen in the fight was in every heart. The Americans now would have to bear the ordeals and many of them meet the death that their French and British brothers believed to be a price well paid for liberty. The huge audience stood when at the close of Mr. Roy's moving speech, the orchestra played 'The Star-Spangled Banner' and 'The Marseillaise.'

"Then Major Maddock, in command of the American soldiers, spoke in English to his own men, explaining to them what the French orators had been saying in 'a soldier's language.' 'The French,' he told them, 'cannot say enough to you to thank you for coming over here to fight and help them, but we know that this is our war, that we are here to fight for our liberty and our country as well as theirs and we are proud to take our places beside the men who have already fought so long and to share the cost. The whole-hearted cheers of the American men translated to the French the soldiers' approval of their officers words.

"A cinematograph performance and a patriotic program in which artists from the Paris opera, the Odeon and the Comedie Francaise

appeared, followed the formal speeches and the young school girls of Orleans sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" in French.

"At 5:30 an immense crowd was gathered on the Mail, the principal boulevard of Orleans, to listen to the American band, which played the popular and patriotic music of our country. The crowd and the American soldiers fraternized in the happiest way. The French, removing the barrier of the strange language, chattered away to our men, smiled upon them, 'got it over' to them that they were indeed in a friendly land.

"So was the Fourth of July celebrated in Old Orleans and in many other French and British cities there were similar scenes.

"Here in old Orleans, strangers meet as brothers; every American in the city was made to feel that the ceremonies of the day were but a pale reflection of the sincerity of the French people, but in very truth a bond was being forged of love and understanding that would stand the test of time."



THE NATURE OF HALLUCINATIONS

For thousands of years, hallucinations have played a very important part in the history of mankind, and the hallucinations of Mahomet and Joan of Arc, for instance, may be said to have changed the fate of nations. Yet it was not until the rise of the science of psychology—which even now depends on comparatively few and imperfectly observed facts—that any attempt to enquire into their cause and the laws that govern their being has been made. Nor can it be said that in this matter psychologists are in every way agreed. While those of them who prefer to rely upon ascertained fact still keep to the opinion that no thoughts enter the brain save through the avenue of the senses—or, in other words, that man's only relations with the universe are governed by the conditions of his material body—others, greatly daring, have started the theory of "telepathic" impressions. According to this, an impression can reach the brain from a distance by some unknown road which is certainly not the normal channel of sensation. Into the evidence for and against this telepathic theory I cannot here enter, although I may point out that it is, like many other ideas announced as novel, little else than the survival of notions nearly as old as mankind itself. From the earliest ages, man seems to have looked upon the hallucinations produced

by drugs, fasting, or other causes of temporary mental aberration as the birthright of a few individuals generally supposed to be especially favored by the denizens of the spirit world.

Subject, then, to the caution that all psychologists do not agree as to the nature of hallucinations, it may be said that they are best defined as deceptions of the senses. The only difference that has yet been discovered between true sense-perception or the normal exercise of the senses and hallucinations is that in the first case the object seen, heard, or felt actually exists; while, in the other, it does not. So, to put a fairly familiar case, the sufferer from alcoholic delirium sees rats, dogs, and snakes all round him, although there is nothing there. Yet we know that in this case there can be no effect immediately produced on the retina, and that the brain must therefore be influenced in some other way than in the normal manner through the optic nerve. It should be noted also that exactly the same thing takes place in dreams. How this can be is really the problem that we have to solve.

In order to do so, we may look first at some statistics lately collected by the Society for Psychical Research. According to the report presented by them to their subscribers, they issued a "questionnaire" (no English word so exactly expresses the meaning, to a great many people asking whether the questioned had ever when completely awake had "a vivid impression of seeing or being touched by a living being or inanimate object or of hearing a voice, which impression was not due to any external physical cause." To this inquiry they received some twenty-four thousand answers saying that the questioned never had such a vivid impression and only three thousand from people who admitted that they had. Of the three thousand cases thus reported—I am taking as round figures as possible—by far the greater number were visual or deceptions of the sense of seeing, these being more than twice as numerous as the auditory hallucinations which came next, while these last again were more than double the number of the tactile hallucinations or deceptions of the sense of touch. It follows, therefore, that while only about eleven per cent. of the questioned confessed to hallucinations of any kind, more than one-half of the hallucinated saw, or thought that they saw, things which were not actually there. Of these visual hallucinations, about one-third concerned themselves with apparitions of living persons known to the hallucinated, about half that number with visions of dead acquaintances, and only a very small proportion—something like twelve in a thousand—with apparitions of a religious

kind. After making every allowance for the unwillingness of persons to speak of the illusory visions they have experienced, it seems that the subject of an hallucination is more often than not the apparition of a person well known to the observer.

This seems to me an extremely significant fact, when we consider what it is that takes place in our consciousness when we, as we say, recognize any one. The act is, in the great majority of cases, but of memory. The first time that we meet again a person whom we have met but once before, but who has made no very deep impression upon us, most of us go through a more or less prolonged period of hesitation until some hitherto unnoticed feature or some trick of gesture gives us the clue to the identification we are seeking. But the process is in any ordinary case unconscious, because we have not on the first occasion of meeting the stranger expected to come across him again, and have therefore not closely noted his peculiarities of form or manner. On the other hand, when it is in the daily practice of the observer to note the way by which the observed may be recognized in the second interview, it is astonishing how quickly and unerringly the act of recognition is made. There are hallporters in London clubs who are said to have never made a mistake in the identity of a member, and the same gift is generally acquired by the sergeant-major of a regiment, to the great disgust of re-enlisting recruits. And, although the comparison may seem to fall below the exuberant loyalty of the hour, the same faculty is said to be generally possessed by kings. That unconscious memory plays the greatest part in the production of hallucinations seems, therefore, antecedently probable, and this coincides well enough with what we otherwise know about the nature of memory itself. As I have before said in these columns, memory is an attribute which the cells which make up the body of man share with inanimate nature, and the nerves and brain retain for a greater or less length of time the impress of all objects with which they have been brought into connection. When anything happens to arouse the memory thus stored up within the apparatus of thought, the machinery is again set going as a tuning fork vibrates to a particular note. But of all the organs of the body, the eye is that which receives most incessantly the greatest number of varying impressions and transmits them to the brain, and it is not perhaps unnatural to conclude that it is the visual apparatus which is most likely under abnormal circumstances to give forth the impressions which it has received irregularly or in the wrong order. We may even suppose without any great violation of probability that it is the neurons especially concerned with sight which are at once the reci-

pients and storehouses of the impressions received by the retina, and that under the influence of some abnormal activity or derangement, they themselves reproduce these impressions as if in response to an external stimulus. Without making any dogmatic assertion on a subject which is hardly likely to be for some time submitted to the test of direct experiment, it may be thought that in like manner can be explained the cause of all hallucinations or deceptions of the senses of hearing and touch.

Those who thus think will certainly find many confirmations of this proposition in the history of the hallucinations of the hysterical and neurotic. During the Middle Ages, when stories of heaven and hell, of miracles, witchcraft, and devils formed the mental stimulus of all but a fraction of the population, the hallucinations recorded all fall into line with a regularity which is simply astonishing. In the witch-trials that form the records of what was perhaps the most terrible superstition which has ever darkened the earth, confession follows confession with such monotony as to lead to the theory—for which there is otherwise no evidence—that they must have always been dictated by the judges. At the present day it is, as most people unfortunate enough to be thrown into contact with the insane know well, the telephone and the electric machine which have replaced in the visions of diseased minds the place once occupied by the Sabbath and the *grimoire*. In all these cases, it is plain that the hallucination is the reproduction of some pictorial or verbal description stored up within the brain and brought out again without any conscious effort. Never, perhaps, does the mind of man show more thoroughly its material nature and dependence than when it fancies it has emancipated itself from the thralldom of matter.

F. Legge.

The London Academy.



THE FETE OF JOAN OF ARC, MAY 16

All France joins in the celebration of the fete of Joan of Arc today, a mid-May festival which has assumed great importance since the beginning of the war. Formerly confined to Catholics, the observance has for the past three years been participated in by many protestants, and all have joined in paying homage to the memory of the peasant girl who saved France from destruction when the nation was at the lowest ebb in its history. Paris, a city of monu-

ments, has more than a dozen memorials to the brave maid, and shrines and monuments are to be found in other cities and in the rural districts throughout France.

Hundreds of histories of Joan of Arc have been written, but the real history of her life will never be told, since it is impossible for the greatest historians to judge where myth begins and reality leaves off.

During her lifetime she was usually referred to as Jeanne La Pucelle, or The Maid. She came of a very poor peasant family, and her parents, it is believed, were names Jacques and Isabelle Darc. In her girlhood she was subject to trances and visions, and at the age of eighteen she declared that a voice had informed her that she was to go from her home in Lorraine to France and to conduct the Dauphin Charles to Rheims, where he was to be crowned. At that time France was torn by internal dissensions, a prey to the ambition of petty princes, and its crown had been surrendered to the English king. After many disappointments Joan was given an audience with the Dauphin, and so impressed him that he became convinced of the authenticity of her visions. A prophecy was current that the throne which had been lost by a woman would be recovered by a virgin, and Joan was generally accepted as the chosen agent of Providence. Wearing male dress and a suit of white armor, she mounted a black charger, bearing a banner of her own device, and at the head of six thousand men advanced to aid Dunois in the relief of Orleans. Her arrival inspired the French troops with renewed enthusiasm, and the English were compelled to raise the siege and retreat. As a result of her aid Charles VII was crowned King of France at Rheims, in the great cathedral which has so ruthlessly been bombarded by the Germans. Later, when the maid was captured by the Burgundians and by them sold to the English, the ungrateful monarch made no effort to secure her release. Instead, the vicar-general of the Inquisition of France demanded that she be handed over to him to be tried on the charge of sorcery. This request was refused, but the maid was handed over to the spiritual tribunal of Pierre Cauchon. After a trial which was a farce, the brave girl was condemned as a witch and heretic and was burned at the stake May, 1431.



GENERAL BEAUREGARD BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Address Delivered by Colonel H. J. de la Vergne in the Convention Hall, Hotel Grunewald, on the Evening of May 28, 1918, Centennial of Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard.

The Beauregard family is one of the oldest and most illustrious of Louisiana. In Europe its records go back to the 13th Century when Tider, surnamed the "Young" at the age of eighteen headed a party of Welsh in revolt against Edward the First, then King of England.

Jacques Toutant de Beauregard was the first to come to Louisiana under Louis the XIV as commander of a flotilla. After having assisted the colony in many ways he returned to France carrying with him a cargo of timber for naval constructions. The Cross of St. Louis was his reward. He finally settled in Louisiana and married Miss Madeleine Cartier. One of their sons, Louis, espoused Miss Victorine Ducros. They had one daughter and three sons, the youngest of whom, Jacques Toutant de Beauregard, a very rich and influential planter, married in 1808 Miss Helen Judith de Reggio, a descendent of the Italian Dukes of Reggio and Medona, of the illustrious house of Este. Several children were born to them, the third being Pierre Gustave Toutant de Beauregard, the great Southerner and Confederate General. It was on the plantation of his father in the parish of St. Bernard, Louisiana, that Pierre Gustave Toutant de Beauregard saw the light of day on the 28th of May, 1818.

At the age of eight he was sent to a primary school kept by Mr. V. de Bouchell near New Orleans. His dominant trait even at that early age was a marked passion for everything pertaining to military life, a forecast of his future career.

At eleven he went to New York City, where he spent four years under the instructions of Messieurs Peugnot, retired officers of the French Army who both had seen service under Napoleon.

In 1834, at the age of sixteen, he entered as a cadet the United States Military Academy at West Point. On July 1st, 1838 he graduated second out of a class of forty-five. He joined the army as a second Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of Artillery, but was soon attached to the corps of engineers and was promoted Lieutenant in June, 1839. He helped in the building of Fort Adams, New Port

Harbor, R. I., and also in the defenses of Pensacola, Fla. The Bay of Barataria was surveyed by him. He supervised the repair of Fort Jackson. He was the chief engineer at the construction of Tower Dupre, of the repairs of the defense to New Orleans, and of Fort McHenry, Md.

In 1841, September 18th, he married Laure Marie de Villere, grand-daughter of Major General Jacques Philippe Villere, a hero of the battle of New Orleans and second American Governor of Louisiana. Two sons and one daughter were born; Judge Rene T. Beauregard, Henry T. Beauregard and Laure, who was the wife of Col. C. A. Larendon. With the greatest distinction he went through the Mexican War from 1846 to 1848, and won considerable renown as a strategist and engineer at Tampico and Vera Cruz. He was commissioned Captain for gallant and meritorious conduct in the Battles of Contreras and Churubusco; at Chapultepec he was twice wounded and at the taking of the City of Mexico he was wounded a third time. He covered himself with distinction and glory.

After the Mexican War he was engaged as Captain of the Corps of Engineers and was entrusted with the construction of the Custom House and the Mint in New Orleans, buildings which are monuments to his genius and talent.

He also supervised the repairs of various forts and defenses. When the Southern States of the United States seceded from those of the North and organized themselves into a confederation under Jefferson Davis, Beauregard resigned his commission of Superintendent of the Military Academy of West Point in February, 1861, and stood with the South. He was named Brigadier General by Mr. Davis and sent to Charleston, S. C. His defense of that city and harbor was the most scientific, complete and perfect of all the defenses devised during the War. It was by his order that the first shot of the mighty Civil War was fired at 4:30 A. M. April 12, 1861.

He was destined to throw a luster on his name that was never to vanish, and as an inheritance to his posterity, the honor and glory achieved on the battle field.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD AND GENERAL BLANCHARD IN THE MEXICAN WAR

Address of Hon. Milo B. Williams at the Beauregard Centennial, New Orleans, May 28, 1918.

Hades is paved with good intentions. That, distinguished speakers, ladies and gentlemen, is the taunt hurled at us, at our President, at our country by the Germans. In how far is this statement correct? Is it really true? Or, is it but another slander born of a maniac's brain? Are we after all but a nation of boasters and bluffers? After you have heard my few remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I leave the answer to your own good judgment. I doubt not what it will be, for you are Louisianians, and therefore, true Americans.

You know that our nation is an indivisible union of States. You know that this union works in splendid coordination. You know that Louisiana is one of this union. But, do you know how well Louisiana has borne her part? Do you know what glorious niches her sons have carved for themselves in the Hall of Fame? Of course you do! Yet, you will grant me leave to remind you, I know, of the noble deeds of some of our brave Louisianians. I could select almost any chapter in the history of our country and the tale would be the same. However, my own ancestry and the object of these ceremonies limit me to but one chapter, the Mexican War.

We are all familiar with the dramatic beginnings of that war for the freedom of Texas. But, how few of us know the important role played by Louisiana! How few of us know that artillery from New Orleans was the first volunteer unit on the firing line! How few of us know that that same artillery enabled General Zachary Taylor to hold his own at Corpus Christi! At the outset of the war, the call for volunteers met a hearty response in Louisiana. The men of the Pelican State came forward in such vast numbers that there was not room enough in the ranks for all! But, the rejected ones soon had their chance. On April 26, 1846, Gen. Taylor called upon Louisiana for 5,000 more troops. The fervor of the first response had not abated. The men came forward as eagerly as before, to offer their lives for the Stars and Stripes. The rapidity of the

enrollment was so great that, within one week from the call to arms, the Washington Regiment embarked from New Orleans. Such promptitude was unparalleled in history! Louisiana had backed up her intentions by deeds. Within a short time, five more regiments were on their way to the front, and all were consolidated in the Louisiana battalion, commanded by General Persifer F. Smith.

With this little army from Louisiana were two of her sons, destined to become shining lights in her military history, Gen. Albert Gallatin Blanchard and Gen. Pierre Gustave T. Beauregard. Gen. Blanchard was then a captain of the 2nd Regiment, commanded by Col. J. H. Dakin, and Gen. Beauregard was a lieutenant of the Engineer Corps. Both of these young men had laid firmly and well the foundations of their chosen careers.

Gen. Blanchard was born at Charleston, Mass., on September 6, 1810. He entered West Point at an early age, and graduated in 1829, a youth of nineteen, and the youngest graduate in the history of that institution. While at the Academy, he was a class-mate of Robt. E. Lee and Jos. E. Johnston. He served on the frontier as 1st Lieutenant of the 7th Infantry Regiment from 1829 to 1840, when he retired to private life. At the outbreak of hostilities with Mexico, he again entered the service as captain of Col. Dakin's Regiment of Louisiana Volunteers. Then followed a period of distinguished service.

In August of 1846, all Louisiana volunteer companies were mustered out of the service. The Washington Regiment resumed its artillery organization and became the "Washington Artillery." All returned home save Capt. Blanchard, who remained with a few picked men and formed the famous Phoenix Company. This brave band was all that remained of the Louisiana militia.

Capt. Blanchard and his two lieutenants, the brothers of ex-Gov. Nicholls of Louisiana, led their men with a dash and vigor. At the storming of Monterey, all of the officers and many of the privates were especially mentioned for bravery. At Vera Cruz, Capt. Blanchard was the first to rush into the fortress. At Cerro Gordo, the Phoenix Company charged undauntedly up the mountain spur in the face of a galling fire from 15,000 Mexicans. At Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey they fought like furies. And, at Chapultepec, they were the first to gain the summit of the hill. It would take page upon page to recount the exploits of Capt. Blanchard and his intrepid little band. Let it suffice for me to say, that the brave captain was brevetted a major, and a grateful people voted him a

sword for his gallant service. Louisiana had again backed up her intentions by noble deeds.

And then, there was Gen. Beauregard. His life history is well known to every Louisianian. Yet, it might be well to recount his acts during the Mexican War.

At Tampico, it was he who constructed the defenses. At Vera Cruz, it was his engineering genius that brought the siege to a successful close. He was brevetted a captain for his conduct at Contreras and Churubusco. At the battle of Chapultepec, he was wounded in action. Again, at the storming of the "Causeway Battery," he distinguished himself, only to fall wounded once more. His wound deprived him of immediate honor, but his people have not forgotten him. We are assembled here tonight to honor his memory. We are assembled here to commemorate the birth of a brave Louisianian, of a Louisianian, of an American who executed his good intentions by prompt, forceful, and unerring actions. Of such firm character are the sons of Louisiana.

Do we today appreciate the hardships suffered by those sturdy soldiers of yesterday? Do the boys and men of today realize how heroically their fathers fought for the Stars and Stripes? A tale more graphic than Ben. Blanchard's now historic Mexican War diary cannot be found. Tears cannot be restrained as one reads of the tramp, tramp, tramp of that undaunted army. With battle flags shrieking in the wind, drenched to the skin, caked with mud, wallowing in slush, still they pushed on. Up the steep mountain passes, with their packs and rifles slung on their backs, slashing their feet on the jagged, cruel rocks they climbed unafraid. Across burning deserts, with parched and aching throats, in the face of a relentless sun, on and on they marched. Hungry, thirsty, foot-sore and weary they tramped on and ever on.

Down from the mountain heights swoops the Mexican horde. Does our little army turn back? No! Straight into that vast host they fly. Leaping eagerly to the fray, they fire volley upon volley into that oncoming flood. They meet the shock with fixed bayonets and flashing swords; they fight like true Americans. Above the scream and drone of shot, above the clamor of mighty conflict, above the shrieks and groans of the dying rises the stentorian shout: "Remember the Alamo!" With that battle-cry ringing on the air, no army can withstand them. Soon the Mexican retreat becomes a frantic flight. Surging up the mountain slopes like an angry flood, our army beats the enemy back, steadily back. The tide cannot be stemmed. The Stars and Stripes carry all before them.

Louisianians, Capt. Blanchard's Phoenix Company, were with that army. Do we appreciate them? If we do not, why do we erect monuments to those dead heroes? Why are we now exerting our every effort to preserve the historic home of the famous "Washington Artillery?" Why are we now assembled here tonight to celebrate the natal day of our greatest military engineer? It is because we do appreciate those brave Louisianians of yesterday who backed up their good intentions by noble deeds, even as we Louisianians of today back up our good intentions by noble deeds.

With such examples as these before our eyes, how can we Louisianians be anything but true Americans? Gen. Blanchard, the model of the brave, modest, honest, and God-fearing old warrior. Gen. Beauregard, the model of the dashing, courageous, chivalrous and magnificent soldier.

But, in this Union of ours, Louisiana is no exception. Everyone of the forty-eight States has its own heroes, its own Gen. Blanchard, its own Gen. Beauregard. Those states honor and strive to emulate their heroes, even as we honor and strive to emulate ours. Their heroes have fought and died, even as ours have fought and died. Their sons will fight and die, even as our sons will fight and die. All this for our country. For we are Americans.

Hades and Germany may be paved with good intentions, but, our glorious republic rests upon firmer foundations. Her good intentions are supported by the deeds of her loyal, and patriotic citizens. Columbia, the queen of democracy, is crowned with a golden band of Union. And among the forty-eight gems that bedeck that brilliant crown, not one shines forth with greater splendor than that of the "Pelican State," Louisiana.



GENERAL COLLOT'S RECONNOITERING TRIP DOWN THE
MISSISSIPPI AND HIS ARREST IN NEW ORLEANS IN
1796, BY ORDER OF THE BARON DE CARONDELET,
GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

So much has been written about Louisiana that it is difficult to find, even by close sifting, any incident which has escaped our past and contemporary historians. Imagination surrounds the past with a halo brighter from its remoteness, and there is an attraction in musty records and time worn parchments which the most practical amongst us cannot resist. Out of their dust and from their faded leaves,

*"Old faces look upon us,
Old forms go trooping past;"*

we seem to be another world, surrounded by a grander race of men, and we follow through their career until the "dead alone seem living."

It is this feeling that makes each memory of by-gone days strike a responsive chord, and emboldens those who have access to old documents to supplement the oft told chronicles by any minor details which may come to their notice.

All complete histories of Louisiana tell of General George Victor Collot's arrest in New Orleans in 1796, by order of Governor Carondelet, under suspicion of being a secret agitator and a spy. This arrest was considered by some to be groundless and insulting to the French Republic; by others to have been fully justified.

A few documents which have since been discovered and the correspondence carried on between the French General and the Spanish Governor cast more light on this episode of our Spanish Colonial history.

Collot was a soldier of fortune. He rose to rank in those titanic days of the French army when a new system was created, and young generals came to the front because talent, youth, energy and enlightened methods were sought for instead of the prestige of experience and an honored name. Every military commander must necessarily have been talented at a time when generals were tried and condemned for gaining a half victory¹, sent to the scaffold for excess of pru-

¹Houchard. (Samartine's Hist. des Groundins).

dence¹, and when age, instead of inspiring respect, became a crime in the armies of the republic. The convention ordered victory and "the representatives of the people," says Thiers, "who fanned to flame the revolutionary passions in the camps expected impossibilities." These exactions strengthened genius, brought it to light, almost created it.

Carnot, "the creator of the armies, the organizer of victory" favored young generals,² and it was in his day that Collot came to the lands "watered by the Mississippi." He was in his 45th year, an accomplished scholar, a brave soldier, a strategist of the first order and capable of much endurance. Of his judgment and discretion Napoleon expressed a poor opinion, but his having been destined by him to fill high positions, and intrusted with a difficult mission by the French government, proves that he was a man of more than ordinary ability, fully able to cover his tracks and conceal his real motive even from such an antagonist as the wily Carondelet.

He had traveled through the United States in the spring of 1796 and descended the Mississippi with the intention of reconnoitering the countries traversed by that stream, by the Ohio, the Missouri and their affluents. Before leaving Philadelphia he secured passports and letters from the French and Spanish ministers, which did not prevent the latter from advising the Governor of Louisiana to have him detained. In St. Louis he was informed of this fact, at the same time he was warned through letters from Philadelphia that the Secretary of the United States³ had given like orders, and that the English had sent Indians from Canada to assassinate him.⁴ To continue his researches and prolong his stay in the Spanish portion of Illinois was beyond possibility. It would not have been tolerated by the commander of that province, Mr. Zenon Trudeau, whom he had already compromised; to return by the north would have thrown him into the hands of the English, and the Americans and the Spaniards looked on him with suspicion. To all these reasons add that potent factor in human events, the fear of ridicule, and you will understand why General Collot, in the face of all these threats, continued his journey down the Mississippi. He says in his memoirs that he wished to escape the contempt which generally falls on those who make much ado about nothing and bring back naught but excuses after much trouble and expense; that he feared, more than any, the inexorable judges who sit at a man's

¹Chancel.

²Sloan's *Life of Napoleon*.

³Secretary Pickering.

⁴*Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le General Collot.*

own fireside, and who, without investigating circumstances, kill him slowly by perfidious insinuations and turn the tide of public opinion against him.⁶ He probably hoped to escape detection as he exchanged his more comfortable barge for a pirogue and retained but six men in his service. For these changes he alleged the facilities which a lighter bark afforded him for exploring the various rivers, and he attributed the smaller number of his attendants to the fact that he could not accommodate more. In Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage's "*dernières années de la Louisiane*" may be found a facsimile of the embarcation used on the Mississippi in Collot's time, a large flat boat with covered top, then called *voiture*. With this small force and his adjutant, General Joseph Warin, he left St. Louis in the middle of September, 1796, without acquainting its commander of his intention of penetrating into lower Louisiana.

In continuing his journey down the Mississippi the French General took every possible precaution to insure his safety. He wrote another journal in which he was careful to praise Carondelet's administration, with the intention of leaving it at the easy convenience of those inclined to curiosity, and he afterwards felt sure that this subterfuge had saved him from long detention in Havana. In this journal he affirms that Zénon Trudeau, Governor of St. Louis, knew nothing of his plans, which were formed during his stay in the American territory of Illinois. This did not prevent Carondelet from calling to account the governor of St. Louis and of threatening him with destitution. Collot declares that he gave Trudeau information relative to armaments in course of preparation in Canada against Upper Louisiana and friendly advice as to the defense of St. Louis. He classed St. Louis "the finest country in the world" but deplores that in it were "neither warriors, merchants nor agriculturists; that it held naught but uncultivated lands, and emaciated bodies often clothed in rags hardly fit to protect them against the wind." On his arrival at Kaskaskia he was apprized that his mail had been intercepted by the federal government, and that a certain Judge St. Clair of that country was specially insulting in the opinions he formulated against him and against the French Republic. This St. Clair met Collot on the Ohio, and outstripping him, denounced him and had him stopped at Fort Massaic. According to Collot⁶ St. Clair was an Englishman implicated in the conspiracy of Governor "Blound" the aim of which was to turn Louisiana over to the English. The English in Canada were preparing an expedition of two thousand regulars, fifteen hundred militiamen and several savage tribes to

⁶*Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le General Collot.*

attack Upper Louisiana; rumors were rife that English agents in Kentucky and Tennessee were organizing another against Lower Louisiana; the judge and Collot both had reason to suspect each other. The French General accompanied by a justice of the peace and his adjutant, General Warin, called on Judge St. Clair and obtained from him a written repudiation of the charges made against him; this document read thus:

Cahokia, August 29, 1796.

"Sir: I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment at your reproaching me yesterday as the author of your arrest at Fort Massiac; here, Sir, is the exact truth. I announced to Captain Pike, commander of the Fort, that I met you descending the Ohio, but that I did not believe that you would arrive soon as you were busy measuring the distances. I can assure you that I made no other observation, much less did I make any charge against you; I shall never believe that Captain Pike could have added anything to what I said.

I accede, Sir, with pleasure to the request you made yesterday that I should give you this declaration in writing, which I believe is sufficient.

I have the honor, etc.,

WILLIAM ST. CLAIR.

Treason seemed to threaten all the countries of North America at that time and Collot declared that he had received from an inhabitant of Tennessee the written report which follows:

1. "That Chisholm, English agent in Tennessee, has enlisted 1,000 inhabitants of this province to attack the posts of Baton Rouge, Nogales and the Ecores-a-Margot, belonging to Spain.
2. That Chisholm has reconnoitered Louisiana and the Floridas and determined the Creeks and Cherokees to turn their arms against the Spanish possessions;
3. That Chisholm has obtained a list of 1,500 Tories or English Royalists from Natchez (which list he carries) of those engaged to take up arms in favor of the English, as soon as they appear to attack lower Louisiana and to march after this conquest on Santa Fe, ascending the Ouachita river.
4. That an assemblage is now being formed in upper Canada of 1,500 English troops of line, 700 Canadians (salaried militia), and of 2,000 savages from the lakes who are to be commanded by Brent, the Indian chief.

5. That this body is to descend the Illinois river, attack St. Louis and afterwards march on Santa Fe, following the St. Francis and Arkansas rivers.
6. That Chisholm has secured six campaign cannons which he has placed on the Tennessee river, in care of one of his agents, and that these are the same cannons destined to the Genet expedition.
7. That the place of meeting for the Americans is set at Knoxville, in Tennessee for the 1st of May.
8. That, in consequence, Chisholm has made all these arrangements and that after having made his report to minister Liston at Philadelphia he left on March 28th for London, on the brig Fanny, in order to inform his government of this project and demand ships and money for its execution.
9. That to prove what he advanced Mr. — remitted to us an original letter signed by Chisholm in which he enjoins him to find himself at Knoxville to act according to the fixed plan.”
Chisholm's letter:

“Messrs. M—— & Cr.——

You will observe that it is necessary for you to be in the State of Tennessee during the first days of next May, in order to put into execution what we have agreed upon; you may rely on all attention on my side and that all things agreed between us will be faithfully fulfilled according to the existing plan. I remain, gentlemen,

Your very humble servant,

Signed: JOHN CHISHOLM.

It is not astonishing that with all this supposed information the French General should have thought that he was rendering a friendly service to the different commanders at the Spanish posts in warning and advising them. At the same time, surrounded by treason, by enemies and unwilling subjects, it was natural for Carondelet to be suspicious and to have the movements of any stranger carefully watched.

Whilst in St. Louis Collot had been offered Mr. Chouteau's escort on a visit to the Osage tribe but so many obstacles were put in his way that he would not accept the trader's offers. When he reached the Arkansas river he was invited by the chiefs of the great Arkansas village to pay them a visit. He provided himself with a guide and the customary presents for them, and when he arrived at the point where he was to cross the river the guide was much aston-

ished to find a deserted shore, but Collot, having observed the character and the usages of the Savages, understood that they would not stoop to what they considered a servile act. He was, however, surprised to find no conveyance for the crossing, but on closer inspection a light bark and a long pole were perceived, and he writes that it seemed that he heard them say: "Here is a canoe, here are oars, if you are not old women use your arms." They each took an oar and traversed the river amidst applause and to the great delight of the Indians who awaited them on the opposite shore. They were received with the usual ceremonies, and the General describes a savage marriage feast in which their hearts were stirred by the slow, sad and tender melody of the love songs.

When they reached White river it was decided that Warin would ascend the river to the canal connecting it with the Arkansas and would there wait for Collot who was to descend the river to its mouth. On the following day General Collot reached the place where he was to meet his adjutant and not finding him pitched camp to await Warin who arrived the next day, lying in his pirogue, apparently helpless and in a great pain. He had reached the junction of the Arkansas and White rivers when two Chickasaw Indians who had followed them from Illinois attempted to assassinate him, striking with a hatchet a blow aimed at his head which he warded off and received in his chest. The General was persuaded that his unfortunate companion had been mistaken for him, being of the same height and similarly dressed. These Indians, judging from their paint and feathers, were on the war path.

Notwithstanding this misfortune, Collot, with indomitable energy continued his route. He describes the Arkansas river with its bed of sand, its tinge of red which it took from the red earth through which it flowed, its rocks of salt imparting a taste to its waters; in the distance mountains whose summits were lost in the clouds, fertile plains studded with hills. At its source, near the Osage, he noted herds of cows, bears, deer, elks and panthers making this part of the country dangerous to travelers. The Indians hunted in this region only at certain seasons when they were a thousand or more warriors.

From here the party proceeded to the Yazoo passing the isle of Snags, and the isle of the Dead Man's Head. At the isle of Snags the driftage, piled to the height of 60 feet, narrowed the channel. The Yazoo separated upper from lower Louisiana. They found it at a distance from its mouth, divided into two branches: the Cold Water and the East Yazoo and many creeks emptied into it. He describes

the land as fertile descending the river; from the Cold Water branch to its source the country was salubrious, but the other side of the Cold Water to the delta of the Yazoo was continually overflowed and made the country extremely unhealthy. The Yazoo country and the Natchez district were then considered the finest portion of North America. The commerce of skins which had once flourished in that section was reduced at that time to 50,000 deer skins, and seven or eight thousand pounds (weight) of beaver skins. After leaving the Yazoo, Collot proceeded to Nogales which was then ironically called the Gibraltar of Louisiana; he found this portion hilly, gradually slanting to level land. Here he saw a fort which he criticizes; it was built on a low hill with a blockhouse on an adjacent one, commanding the battery, and on a third hill, (separated from the fort by a ravine), another blockhouse, the whole surrounded by a ditch and a small palisade. This fort was called the Fort of the Sugar Loaf. In this section there were two other blockhouses; the one on the west of Fort Vigie, called Fort Gayoso, the one on the right called Fort St. Ignatius. These miniature forts and blockhouses held a captain and 80 men; the general thought they would have required at least a thousand men to defend them, and that unless a chain of forts were built on these heights, they were useless as a barrier against the Americans who could master them in the rear by descending the Mississippi. He here speaks of quantities of turtle eggs buried in the sand on the bank of the Mississippi when the water receded. An old Spanish resident of Nogales told the Frenchmen how intelligently the sluggish turtle deposited her eggs, coming out of the water at daybreak with much precaution, looking all around to see if observed, then with her front paws digging a hole in which she deposited her eggs and flattened the ground over them with her body, returning in the opposite direction from which she came. The Canadians recognized these nests by the polish the turtle gave them. These turtles were rare on the Mississippi; they were more numerous in the Arkansas, and in the western branches emptying into the Mississippi; they were of larger size as one nears the gulf. From Nogales the party entered Big Black river, parallel with the Yazoo, forking off into many branches, its course interrupted by rapids and waterfalls, and at times difficult of navigation.

They next explored Stoney river, (Bayou Pierre), so called from the large rocks in its bed during the twenty odd miles of its course. In this river he notes the Stoney Creek Islands remarkable for their forming three channels only one of which is navigable during a period; Collot cites that when he went through the left one was the pass of

moment, but that "before spring it would probably be obstructed" and another would become navigable.

Descending twenty-eight miles lower they reached the Natchez which begins at the Yazoo and ends at the Tonicas. He describes its situation on the left bank of the river on an elevation which he calls the "fourth Spur." This territory was cut by numerous ravines and the fort was situated on the principal hill. Collot gives a lengthy description of this fort and mentions the means to be resorted to to remedy its defects. He states that Mr. Gayoso de Lemos, who was then governor, had it surrounded by palisades and was to build a road of which the ditch was already outlined. The adjoining battery had neither ditch nor palisade but was to have a 4-inch cannon. It was called Gayoso's battery. The fort was hexagonal in shape and contained sixteen cannons, eight 18-pounders and eight 12-pounders, barracks for 200 men, a well which measured not less than 80 feet depth, and a powder magazine, all in a pitiable condition. The buildings he described as "crumbling," the platforms and supports so rotten that if the fort were to use its 18-pound cannon it would infallibly have tumbled down. There were 50 men garrisoned at this fort which the General thought the best situated for defense against the Americans who could reach it only by a long circuitous route. He declared that all the fortifications on the left bank of the Mississippi, however manned or consolidated, without the alliance of the western States, were useless for the defense of Louisiana. The town of Natchez, facing the river, he described as containing 100 wooden houses painted in different colors and many fine farms and orchards which seemed to denote industry, comfort and means. The population at that time amounted to 10,000 inhabitants, among them 2,000 militiamen and 200 well mounted volunteer dragoons. This population consisted of English emigrants, Tories or Royalists, who during the American revolution sided with King George, and the malcontents of the United States who took refuge there. They had but one feeling in common, their hatred of the federal government. The only route for Natchez trade was the Mississippi and its only market New Orleans; there was however a trail which led to Pointe Coupee where began the grand route to New Orleans, and by this road came, on horseback, the gallant Mississippi volunteers who in 1815 participated in the battle of New Orleans. Here again Collot imparted to the governor, Gayoso de Lemos, the information which he had given to Governor Trudeau about Canadian armaments, and also revealed to him a plot⁶ hatched by the English in Canada

¹Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le General Collot.

and so well worked by their agents in Tennessee, in Florida, among the Tories of Natchez, the Creeks and Cherokees, that everything was ready and the early part of May set for their attack on Baton Rouge and other forts and their invasion of Louisiana. Whether this was a boast of Collot or did he really possess the said information we can only conjecture. That there was a plot and that the English had been stirring the Creeks for some time previous is beyond dispute, and Carondelet was aware of it, for in a letter to one of his officers, dated April, 1794,¹ he says that Seagrove² is trying to excite the Creeks against the Spaniards, he advises him to have some Choctaws with him, and authorizes him to offer them a reward which will be awarded to them on their arrival at the confederation. "Seagrove," he writes, "has left for Philadelphia with fifteen Creek chiefs." He proposes gaining over the Choctaws and their neighbors and fortifying themselves before his (Seagrove's) return; he fixes the sum to be spent in provisions, brandy, munitions, etc., and bids them beware of "tafias," he asks the officer to repeat the above details to Lavillebeuvre, to give full instructions as to the means of avoiding a surprise and orders as to what he must do, in case of attack, to the sergeant to be left at "Tombeche" with fifteen men. He informs him that all is "quiet above" but that they might be attacked by the Balize; he instructs him to reconnoitre the river with care and to establish communication between the confederation and the Yazoo. This letter of Carondelet proves that Collot's revelations had been anticipated and that the gratitude which he expected from the governor of lower Louisiana for this "signal service" was not called for.

From Natchez the party descended to Baton Rouge, 120 miles lower. On the way they passed the Roche D'Avion, named after the Missionary martyr and the canal of the Tonicas, an arm of the Mississippi; the Tchafalaya on the right, emptying into St. Bernard's bay, Pointe Coupee and then Baton Rouge, beginning at False river, which has since been filled. Collot traces the etymology of Baton Rouge to the habit the former savage inhabitants had of marking the boundaries of their respective lands by a long pole or cane painted red. He speaks of the cypress wood back of the town under ten or twelve feet of water during the inundations and in the dry season an impassable marsh; the sandy soil of the town proper at the time of the flood, was always under water. The Baton Rouge fort, immortalized by the memory of Grandpré and his companions,

¹The original held by one of Major Guilmar's heirs.

²English agent.

was in the shape of a star, surrounded by a ditch with a covered road. When Collot saw it only the Commander's house remained of all the out houses and a small barracks containing forty men. He considered Baton Rouge a very important position and went into minute details of the work necessary to render it secure if not impregnable. Speaking of that outlet of the Mississippi called the Iberville river he wrote that the different appellations of Massiac, Manchaque, Ascantia, had been so often misapplied that it was confusing to a stranger. The canal connecting Lake Ponchartrain and Lake Maurepas was the Massiac canal; the two passages formed by Grand Isle were the little and big canals. We must bear in mind that Grand Isle was at that time called Massiac Island. The stream which flows to the junction of Iberville and Amite rivers was called Amite; that portion from Amite river to the Mississippi was the Iberville canal. To call it river would be incorrect as it was born of the Mississippi in the high water season. During the war of 1812 Jackson ordered the filling of the Manchac canal as a necessary precaution against the invaders.

Another waterway cited by the French General was that small stream between Lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas, the Tanchipas which emptied into Lake Ponchartrain, and at its source met the Nitabani which flowed into Lake Maurepas. Between Lake Maurepas and Amite river the country he found intersected by a great number of small tributary streams which subjected this section to frequent inundations. The Amite was then navigable only with oars there being too much depth to use a pole, and the banks so thickly fringed with trees that sails were of no avail. "But these inconveniences are momentary," wrote Collot, "it is easy to conceive that they will disappear as the land is cleared and populated." In the same section a little river was specially noticeable from the abundance of fish in its waters, the name itself attesting to this fact, for Antomoha means fishy. Below Iberville river they entered the passage called Plaquemines, which like the Iberville is dry in certain seasons; and a little lower they came upon the Big Fork of the Chetimacha which carries the surplus waters of the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico. Since Bienville's partial exploration of these bayous the French and Spanish governments, with unpardonable neglect, never studied these outlets with the advantages they might offer to commerce. The French General admired the surpassing beauty of the settlements and fine plantations in this part of the country, where Sugar cane had replaced indigo and cotton and after de Boré's experiments and success in the granulation of

sugar, Louisiana's wealth was assured. The sixty miles intervening between the Chetimacha and New Orleans he noted for the beauty of the planters' homes on both sides of the river. The General, who had been in the West Indies was deeply interested in the cultivation of sugar, and he determined to accept Etienne de Bore's invitation and to study the new methods which had brought the planter success and wealth, but his expectations were doomed to a speedy collapse for he had no sooner reached de Bore's residence than he was arrested, according to his own account on the 27th of October at daybreak, by the major of the garrison¹, just as his adjutant was about to start for the governor's residence² to present his passports and letters and to announce that General Collot would call on him the following day; Mr. Guillemard, officer of the regiment of Louisiana, arrived in the Governor's shallop and requested an interview. The General assured him that on the morrow he would present his respects to the governor, but the major insisted that he should accompany him immediately, alleging that he held these instructions from the governor himself. Collot was obliged to comply without even the privilege of changing his costume, and Gen. Warin, who intended to remain to guard his baggage, was told that he was included in the order; they were hurried into the boat and the baggage remained at the mercy of the oarsmen. Half an hour later a troop of horsemen going towards de Boré's plantation received a sign from Major Guillemard to return, which sign they seemed to expect. To Collot's inquiries the Major replied that it was the ordinary patrol. Further on, at a sign from an officer of the garrison, Guillemard simulated much surprise and exclaimed: "How strange, I am ordered to the fort!" General Collot then demanded if such was the lodging destined to the officers of the French republic even before they were honored by an introduction to the Governor.² Through a stupefied, curious crowd, but not a hostile one, the French officers were ushered into Fort St. Charles which stood on the river bank in the space now comprised between Esplanade and Barracks streets. Two officers were placed on guard in their prison, at the door two grenadiers with naked swords, one at the window, outside the door two more grenadiers with bayonets, and another on guard on the parapet which commanded a view of the window on that side; during the night the garrison and the patrols on horse and foot were doubled. Fort St. Charles was one of the five forts erected by Carondelet. Collot says that this fort and Fort St. Louis commanded the road

¹Guillemard.²Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le General Collot.

and the river. The other forts situated at the salient angles of the square of the town were Fort St. Ferdinand and Fort Burgundy and between the two Fort St. Joseph. He called them "miniature forts" and thought that Governor Carondelet was more intent on keeping his turbulent subjects in check than to defend New Orleans against invasion. In 1805 the city passed resolutions requesting the evacuation and destruction of these forts and the filling of the ditches surrounding them as unsanitary from the stagnant water they contained. Gov. Claiborne approved the enforcement of this resolution but excepted from demolition Forts St. Charles and St. Louis which were then garrisoned by United States troops; the ditches were, however, drained by his orders. Fort St. Charles, where the French Generals were incarcerated, was the last to be demolished, towards 1826, the same year Collot's book describing his voyage in Louisiana appeared.¹

After these voluminous precautions Adjutant-General Warin was brought before the governor who made him undergo an interrogatory in the presence of the Auditor of War, the interpreter and the secretary of the government. He was afterwards, by the governor's order, escorted to an inn where he spent the night under guard of two fusileers and a corporal, though he was then very ill, having never recovered from the wound in his chest inflicted by the savages who tried to assassinate him. Meanwhile General Collot who had remained in the fort demanded a copy of the order of his arrest which Major Guilmard and his adjutant² refused. The governor denied having issued any other than a verbal order. Why the written one was not destroyed, since he had reasons to deny its existence, cannot be explained. It still exists in New Orleans, written in full and signed by Carondelet's own hand, and the following is its wording:³

"New Orleans, the 25th of October, 1796.

"For reasons of state and in the King's name, I send the major of the garrison, Mr. Guilmard, to arrest General Collot with the officer who accompanies him, as also his equipage and all his papers, in consequence of which, sir, in case of necessity, you will lend a hand to the said major for the success of his commission. God have you in his holy keeping.

The Baron of Carondelet."

"To Mr. de Boré or any other inhabitant who will be requisitioned by Mr. Guilmard."

¹Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale; Gayarre's Hist. of Louisiana, Vol. IV, American domination.

²Mr. Metzinger.

³The original held by one of Major Guilmard's heirs.

This order bears the date of October 25th, but according to Collot's statement was carried out on the 27th.

Collot's baggage had been brought to the fort only towards evening on the day of his arrest, the trunks open, the boxes broken, and the seals, notwithstanding his protest were affixed without any previous inventory, nor any of the customary formalities. Strict orders were issued that neither pen, pencil nor ink should reach him and that everything entering the guard house should be thoroughly inspected. His keys were demanded but he refused to surrender them as he was only the depository of effects and papers belonging to the French republic. For these indignities and those undergone by Warin, Carondelet threw the odium on Mr. Metzigue.¹ Collot declined to answer any questions before having a private interview with the governor.

The General insisted on the private interview which he had demanded; the Governor acquiesced to this request, and after a short conference during which Carondelet had taken cognizance of the General's letters, he recalled the auditor, telling Collot that he was compelled to question him, but would do so only for the form. After making him undergo an interrogatory which was a mere formality, the Governor offered the General a house in town which he was to occupy on parole, with an orderly; on his acceptance he had him conveyed hither in his own official carriage. Collot was obliged to acknowledge that the Spanish Governor seemed anxious to make amends for previous unpleasantness. He waived the inspection of the General's papers on condition that he would await in Havana the decision of their respective courts, but detention in Havana had in those days an unsavory reputation of indefinite promises and ever renewed delays, and as the French General had still "important business" to transact in Philadelphia² he consented to submit his papers to the Governor's inspection after a written promise from him of inviolable secrecy and of their speedy return to him. At Carondelet's request he made a gift of some to the Spanish Government³ and received a written receipt for them.² Notwithstanding all these fair promises some were abstracted⁴ and others copied by Mr. Guilmar.⁵

Gen. Collot remained in New Orleans, according to his statement, fifteen days² under arrest, and during that time he was called upon to follow to the grave the remains of his friend, his companion

¹Major Guillemard's adjutant.

²*Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le General Collot.*

³Papers concerning the Mississippi.

⁴Letter from Collot to Carondelet, dated December, 1796.

⁵By order of the Governor of Louisiana.

and sharer of his labor and hardships. They were both of a regenerated nation who had inscribed on the abode of their dead: "Death is eternal sleep," and sleep is rest, surcease of sorrow, but "eternal sleep!" put between them a gulf which neither life nor death could span, the abyss of nothingness. There are moments even in a strong man's life when the teachings and beliefs of childhood, like restless ghosts come back and assert themselves: Warin accepted the church ministrations from "Pere Antoine" of revered memory, and Collot, the stern republican, bowed before the cross planted on that lonely grave on a foreign soil. Warin's bones have bleached and crumbled and mingled with our soil, and the then spacious cemetery where he was laid is now a crowded labyrinth of tombs. The city then counted 10,000 souls and it is not probable that these inhabitants, most of them of French extraction, were in any way dismayed at the French General's presence, but it is easily supposed that the Spanish Governor was made very uneasy by it, and this explains his proposition that Collot should await at the Balize a transport to Philadelphia. He suggested that he should assume a false name¹ to avoid the loss of his papers which his identity might endanger. To this Collot indignantly replied that his mission was too honorable to lower it by such artifices.²

Carondelet issued the passport under his own name as he desired, personally ordered the construction of a chair with secret compartments to conceal his papers, and finally returned what he chose of the confiscated papers, drawings and maps.

Notwithstanding his sudden friendship, his high regard for Collot,³ his exquisite politeness, he never relaxed his vigilance until the General was safely on board the *Iphegenia* and out of his province.

The French General left for the Balize on the 1st of November, accompanied by a captain of the regiment of Louisiana who was not to lose sight of him. He was to reside in the house of the chief pilot, Juan Ronquillo, who had been at this post since the cession of Louisiana to the Spaniards.⁴ There were twenty-four pilots under him, and in this rough company, in this dismal spot; he spent seven weeks the hardship and loneliness of which it is not difficult to imagine when we call to mind what the Balize then was. As far as the eye could reach nothing struck the view but a vast swamp whose undulating surface of dingy, yellowish grasses and swaying reeds spoke

¹Letter from Carondelet to General Collot.

²Letter from Collot to Carondelet.

³Letter from Carondelet to Collot.

⁴Voyages de Perrin du Lac.

but too plainly of unfathomable depths below; beyond the river's outstretched hand of quaggy soil, the immensity of the open sea, and, over it all, that hush which is the stillness of desolation. Nothing broke the monotony of the marsh but the pilot's home. Could it be called home? Was it a house, this dwelling perched on stakes in the midst of floating lands, to which there was no means of exit or entrance save by a canoe, moved by pole or oar, each stroke of which sent up the fetid breath of the miasmatic, slimy water? In those bleak November days a pall seemed to hang over it even in the blaze of the noonday sun, and when the shades of evening deepened and gloom, and then darkness, fell upon the trembling prairie, the moaning of the wind in the reeds and the swish of the sluggish waters must have sounded like the wailing of unhappy spirits. Collot delineates it in one line when he speaks of "liquid mud filled with insects of all kinds, and the place productive of every incommodity and all the horrors which such a sojourn may suggest." On the 22nd of September he embarked on the brig *Iphegenia* for Philadelphia where he awaited Carondelet's answer to his demand for the abstracted papers. He threatened to lay the case before their respective ministers and the Governor, to all outward appearances gave in, but the papers, which he pretended to have forwarded, never reached the General. They were apparently confided to Juan Cortes who left New Orleans in May, 1797; he was to remit them to the French General in person, but was authorized to "throw them into the sea" if there was any risk of their falling into the hands of the enemy. On the 20th of the same month the *Betsy* was captured by the English schooner *Ranger* and Cortes, according to his instructions, tied a weight to the said package and threw it into the sea. This fact he attested to before Thomas Stoughton, Spanish Consul, as soon as he reached New York, and two days later before the minister plenipotentiary of Spain in the United States, then residing in Philadelphia.¹

Collot wrote that Carondelet showed less anxiety about the consequences of his hasty action than about the means to be employed to creep out of it;² that it was not to be supposed that two officers would venture into a strange country without being provided with all the necessary passports; that he should at least have ascertained that it was not so before ordering their arrest.

Governor Carondelet finding it expedient to justify his proceedings towards the French General, wrote to Mr. Adet, that the French

¹Attested before notary as exact copies of originals.

²*Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le General Collot.*

Minister should have advised him of Collot's visit, that he had been informed that he was intrusted with a secret mission hostile to the Spanish Government; that he was reconnoitering the country and that rumors in the American newspapers had caused his presence to create a stir and commotion throughout Louisiana.¹

To form an impartial opinion it will be necessary to review the condition of the colony previous to this event. There is no doubt that the revolutionary ideas which pervaded France had found sympathizers in a colony whose love for the mother-country had never been wholly eradicated. "A nation may," says Guizot, "for a moment and under the impulse of a violent crisis, deny its past, even curse it, but they will never forget it nor detach themselves from it for any length of time, nor absolutely." Louisiana had been France's brightest jewel, and Bienville's useless pleading and the execution of the Franco-Louisianians, who sealed with their blood their fidelity to France, had not stifled their patriotism. The wild and fiery eloquence of the French patriots, apostles of unbridled liberty, sank deep in the hearts of a population who had passed under the yoke of Spain without being warned of the change nor consulted as to their pleasure; the city reechoed with Jacobin refrains, the Marseillaise was called for at the theatre and the people with frenzy would applaud and recall the actors until actors and audience became so excited that a spark would have started the threatened explosion. Carondelet was aware that danger in the colony was as imminent as what could be feared from a foreign enemy.

The Jacobins of the United States published revolutionary pamphlets advising the Louisianians to avenge their wrongs, to shake off the Spanish yoke and strike for liberty. It was rumored that Genet had organized an expedition of Frenchmen and Americans, for the invasion of Louisiana, of which he was to be commander in chief, and de la Chaise leader of the invading forces which he had recruited in Kentucky. Genet had secured the Creeks and Cherokees as allies and his recall at the request of the United States did not quell the seditious movement he had aroused. His agents were scattered over the country and seized every favorable opportunity to renew their efforts. De la Chaise, too proud to bear defeat, when he saw his plans frustrated took service in the French army. This turbulent spirit's departure must have drawn from Carondelet a sigh of relief, but he knew that he was not near the end of his troubles and he took every possible precaution against menaces from without and within.

¹Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale par General Victor Collot; Official correspondence.

Syndicates were appointed within nine miles of each other with orders to report weekly to superior officers; citizens were compelled to report seditious expressions; assemblages of more than eight persons were forbidden, travelers without passports incurred arrest; and the city was frequently patrolled.

A number of royalists had sought refuge from the horrors of the revolution among their former brethren. Carondelet had favored their coming, he had even made large grants of land to Maison Rouge, de Lassus de St. Vrain and Bastrop and allowed and encouraged their bringing into the country from the United States¹ large numbers of their countrymen who had fled from France. This increase of the French population, despite the favors granted by the Spanish Government and the conciliatory measures adopted by the Spaniards, made the danger of feuds and uprisings imminent. Barbé-Marbois tells us that aversion for Spain was effaced but affection never replaced it," and that nothing but indifference could be expected from a colony so amalgamated. Carondelet held the reins of government with a steady hand and kept the restive element in check but it was never daunted.

These facts added to the growth and success of republicanism, and the ill disguised feelings of the French population, made Collot's visit following these events, under the circumstances already demonstrated an intrusion and a menace. It is not, therefore, astonishing² that the Spanish Governor should have taken every measure to guard against the stirring up of his colonists.

Of the different actors in this episode there is little else to say. Gov. Carondelet vented his displeasure on the Lieutenant Governor of Illinois whom he threatened to deprive ~~him~~ of his gubernatorial commission, accusing him of having allowed Collot to penetrate into lower Louisiana. Collot denied this and stoutly defended Trudeau, but he was an interested party, and more reliance may be placed on the statement of the intendent Ventura Morales who says that the French General came in by the Ohio.² and this exculpates the venerable governor of Illinois. During the year which followed Collot's arrest Carondelet was appointed President of the Royal Audience of Quito and at his departure left many warm friends in Louisiana and fewer enemies than might have been expected considering his rigid discipline, his quick and unwavering justice.

¹Martin's History of Louisiana.

²Official despatch to Spain.

Major Guilmar, who arrested the General, continued to serve under the subsequent governors until Laussat received the colony from Spain and receded it to the United States. He then was sent as Lieutenant Colonel to Pensacola by His Catholic Majesty. He was a nephew of the venerated Pere Dagobert de Longwy, a Frenchman by birth, though his talents brought him honor and emolument under the Spanish domination. His remains were deposited in the old St. Louis cemetery. As to General Collot, he remained some time in Philadelphia, and on his return to France, was destined to learn at his expense that past services are swiftly forgotten by those in authority and do not insure against disgrace and imprisonment. In 1801 he was again free and in command of a number of exiled Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen bound for the United States. This armament subsequently left for Hispaniola, and was to proceed later to Louisiana. Collot was designed to be governor of Louisiana after the retrocession to France, but fell into disfavor a second time, and the last historical mention I have found of his is in January, 1803, when Livingston wrote from Paris that Bernadotte was to command in the colony, Collot to be second in command, that Adet was appointed Prefect, and that the armament destined for Louisiana would not reach there till June. In the meanwhile Bonaparte determined to sell what he could not hold, and, on the 30th of April, 1803, Louisiana was sold to the United States. Once more Collot had seen the fruit of his ambition, honor and power within his reach, but ruthless fate had again stepped between them and wrested it from his grasp. He died in Paris, July, 1805.

Etienne de Boré, in whose home Collot suffered arrest, barely escaped imprisonment, owing his safety to his popularity and to the fear of exasperating the French sympathizers in the colony. In later years he became so far reconciled to the Spaniards as to accept one of the most prominent as his son-in-law. He was appointed Mayor of New Orleans by Laussat¹ and, after this transient honor, he was requested by Governor Claiborne in 1804 to become a member of the legislature. Finding the acceptance of this place inconsistent with his former views³¹ he retired to private life but not to obscurity nor oblivion for his name will be honored by future generations as long as the sugar industry thrives in Louisiana.

HELOISE HULSE CRUZAT.

Thanks are due to Mr. Gaspar Cusachs for the loan of a valuable book written by General Collot: "*Voyage dans l'Amérique Spetentrionale.*"

¹November 30th 1803; see Gayarre's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, p. 605.

TRANSLATION OF SOME DOCUMENTS BEARING ON
GENERAL COLLOT'S ARREST

Letter from the Governor to General Collot:

New Orleans, October 28, 1796.

General: I deeply regret not having been able to treat you with the sincerity and frankness which my friendship for you suggested; you must have noticed by the questions put yesterday that I did not betray your confidence in me. It was natural to ask you to produce the important despatches you remitted to the Lieutenant Governor of Illinois for me; I could also have shown letters from the envoys of France and Spain which you handed me that the principal one had been sent to me by a vessel which probably threw them into the sea, since they contained no allusion to the real object of your voyage; they did not authorize you to reconnoitre the province, nor entitle you to the condescension which the commanders of the different posts showed you in allowing you to go over them. Perhaps you have been mistaken about their contents, and that is why I send you Mr. Adet's letter, and I shall afterwards interpret that of Don Jose Jaudenes which is in the same sense.

I could not allow you to carry out the object of your mission without exposing myself to disagreeable consequences from my Court. I believe you would do well to await at the Balize a vessel leaving in ten days for Philadelphia, under the Spanish flag, with which you will come to terms as to price of your passage. You will reside in the home of the head pilot, a man in easy circumstances, who will treat you well; according to the orders I have given, you will be perfectly free.

As I am incapable of abusing of your confidence all your papers will be returned to you, even those particularly concerning Louisiana, but for their safety at sea, you will do well to spread the rumor, as I shall on my side, if you judge proper, that I have retained them in my power. Your departure for the Balize will set to rest the minds of the inhabitants whom your arrival had generally alarmed.

If you prefer to go via Havana you will likewise have a boat shortly and from there you could reach your destination. To end it, General, I shall no longer conceal from you that I was warned from Philadelphia that you were intrusted with a secret mission against

which I was told to be on my guard; I was not however informed from whom you held this mission.

I had sent orders higher up the river to observe your movements closely and not to leave you diverge from your route, but they came too late.

Advices from Messrs. Jaudenes and Adet jointly would have spared us many inconveniences and would have given me the opportunity to show you the high consideration with which I have the honor, etc.

Signed: BARON de CARONDELET."

General Collot's answer to preceding letter:

New Orleans, October 28, 1796.

"*Mr. Governor:* I am infinitely thankful for your personal interest in me.

If the advice you received from Philadelphia comes from your minister you are fulfilling a sacred duty towards your Sovereign; in the contrary case, you are compromised and mistaken.

For the dignity of my country I cannot remain any longer in the territory of His Catholic Majesty; I then, sir, accept your proposition. I cannot agree with you on the pretended alarm my presence caused among the inhabitants. The reception tendered to me by them and the different commanders would contradict this ascertation. This will be proved by the accompanying letters remitted to me on my route from St. Louis down to New Orleans; you will oblige me by taking cognizance of them.

The word "condescension" in your letter is not admissable, the republic receives it from no one, I exhort you to change it.

As honest as yourself, Mr. Governor, equally anxious for the glory of our Sovereigns, (you of your King, I of the republic). I regret infinitely that too much hastiness, and perhaps a little prejudice on your side, should have deprived us of communicating to each other the ideas which might have been of use to the interest of both nations, threatened on all sides by the common enemy of this part of the globe. I have the honor to remain, etc.

Signed: VICTOR COLLOT."

Governor Carondelet to General Victor Collot:

October 30, 1796.

Sir: You will have the chair in question tomorrow; it will be made in the morning or at the latest at noon.

You must have heard of the answer Mr. Clark gave when I suggested to put in at the harbor of Charleston, but it does not appear to be an unsurmountable difficulty. If you return my letter I shall make the change you desire; I am now working on my answer to Mr. Adet's letter, handed to me by you.

This morning I received Mr. Gayoso's letter which was delayed eight days between Baton Rouge and New Orleans; it was dated the 15th, eve of your departure.

Be assured of the sincerity of the feelings, General, of your very humble, etc.

Signed: BARON de CARONDELET."

Governor Carondelet to General Collot.

"I return, General, the accompanying letter and during the day you will receive the remainder with the exception of the order of arrest which was only verbal; but I will tell it to you officially which will be equivalent. The clause you desire inserted in your passport would expose you to the loss of your papers in case of an undesirable meeting at sea, since it would reveal their existence, but you could take a supposed name instead of that of General Collot. Receive the assurance of my sincere attachment.

Signed: BARON de CARONDELET."

General Collot to the Governor of Louisiana:

October 31, 1796.

"*Mr. Governor:* My mission is too honorable to be denatured by a supposed name. An officer of the French republic prefers at any time to expose himself to suffering and even to loss of life, rather than save his life by an action unworthy of a great nation.

Therefore, Mr. Governor, I insist on the passport being under my own name and I shall accept no other.

Signed: VICTOR COLLOT."

Governor Carondelet to General Collot:

New Orleans, La., October 31st, 1796.

"*General*: I have only a moment to say that after having weighed the reasons for and against concerning your baggage, I am of opinion that you go by sea as more certain and speedier; I shall give you a passport as you desire it. The chair will be brought to you tonight and all your papers will be remitted to you tomorrow, so that you may leave early day after tomorrow, if nothing prevents, but we will speak tonight on this subject. In the meanwhile I am entirely at your service.

Signed: BARON de CARONDELET."

General Collot to Governor Carondelet at the moment of his departure:

The Balize, December 4, 1796.

"*Mr. Governor*: I received your letter and the different papers sent with it. It pained me to see that after my confidence in you and the verbal promise you made that all would be returned, you however, thought fit to retain some of them, principally the plan of St. Louis, the map of all the American portion of Illinois, the memorial of the Grand Osage and Arkansas rivers.

That you should have kept the plan of St. Louis is plain since it was intended for you, as also the correspondence of General Gayoso; that of Mr. Zenon would have proven it; and thereby you deprived me of the pleasure of remitting them to you in person. But Mr. Governor, the map of the American portion of Illinois, containing 60 miles of country was not subject to confiscation; it is property belonging to the French Republic, and which, allow me to say, you can have no excuse for retaining. The pretext which you allege that the Spanish is on it is not admissable, for you well know that there is but the line showing the width of the river and the points of St. Genevieve and St. Louis, simply to indicate their latitude, and in this case the accessories would be more weighty than the principal.

At most you would have had the right to detach the part adjoining Spanish territory, supposing that a line drawn from Hutchin's map may be of consequence in the hands of the Republic. This map is too essential a part of the collection of which I am but the depositary for me to forego it lightly.

I shall then await your answer by the first boats bound for Philadelphia or New York before laying this affair before our respec-

tive ministers, confident that it will be treated reasonably and with the respect due to an allied power.

I have the honor to remain, etc.

Signed: VICTOR COLLOT."

"I, the undersigned, Jean Cortes, inhabitant of New Orleans, declare that having left the said port the eighth day of last May, in the American schooner named Betsy, under orders of Captain Peter Davis, bound for Baltimore, a package addressed to General Collot, residing in Philadelphia, was intrusted to me by the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General of the Province, with instruction to guard it carefully, to remit it to him personally, and authorizing me to throw it into the sea if there survened any risk of its falling into the enemy's hands. That the 20th day of the same month, we were accosted by an English schooner, named the "Ranger," Captain Schearman, who after having examined our papers declared us a prize and ordered us to follow the route to New Providence, in virtue of which I profited of a favorable moment to tie a piece of lead to the said package and threw it into the sea, without the English perceiving it; all of which I declared on my arrival in this country before Don Thomas Stoughton, Consul of His Catholic Majesty, actually ratifying and signing the present declaration in New York, October 5th, 1797.

Signed: JEAN CORTES."

Don Thomas Stoughton, Consul of His Catholic Majesty for the State of New York.

"Certify that appeared in this consulate Mr. Jean Cortes, and that the preceding declaration was signed in my presence, that the said declaration may serve if need be, I granted the present certificate, signed by my hand, with seal of the consulate in New York, this 5th day of October, 1797.

Signed: THOMAS STOUGHTON."

"I declare that what precedes is a translation of the sub-joined declaration in Spanish. Philadelphia, October 7th, 1797.

YRUJO."

I certify that the signature of Thomas Stoughton which appears in the sub-joined document is that of His Catholic Majesty's Consul

of the State of New York, and that the seal is that of the said consulate in which faith must be put.

Signed: CARLOS MARTINEZ de YRUJO."
Philadelphia, October 7th, 1797.

Don Carlos Martinez de Yrujo was minister plenipotentiary and extraordinary from Spain to the United States of America.

These translations taken from "Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale," from Mr. Gaspar Cusach's library.



TRANSLATION OF GENERAL COLLOT'S DESCRIPTION
OF DE BORE'S SUGAR HOUSE AND COMPARI-
SON WITH THE WEST INDIA CANE

"In the latter part of October the occasion presented itself of seeing Mr. de Bore's plantation. They were then cutting the cane which had been planted since February according to the custom in San Domingo; it however seemed to me that they were less distant at Mr. de Bore's than in the Antilles. I found them still green, the knots very close together and the tubes very slender. Notwithstanding this imperfect state they were grinding, that is, in the manufacturer's language, they were putting the canes into the mill. This mill as those of San Domingo was worked by four mules. The juice (vesoul) was of a greenish color and contained a great deal of acid. It was evaporated in six kettles of different sizes, the only ones Mr. de Bore was able to procure in the colony.

"The syrup, of a lighter color than that of the Antilles, was sweet and good; the pale color noticeable in the San Domingo syrup is alternately attributed to drought or to great humidity during the growth of the cane. In Louisiana it proceeds principally from the fact that the cane planted in winter can remain but nine months in the ground, whilst in the Antilles it is continually exposed to a more ardent sun; the planters consider it ripe only after thirteen, fourteen and fifteen months. In Louisiana sugar loses more by evaporation and crystallizes with more difficulty than in the Antilles, on account of the great quantity of acid and aqueous parts contained in its juice.

"Brown sugar at Mr. de Bore's is good, well crystallized and has a rich grain, but it still contains fat and aqueous matter, such as the juice, which evaporation has not wholly purified.

"As to the clarified sugar, it is of the finest quality, so considered even by the inhabitants of Guadeloupe to whom I showed some samples; a great many persons were persuaded that it had been refined. This perfection shows great fertility of the soil and all the necessary requisites for the nourishment of this plant. The only question is to find the species which will in the shortest time attain maturity.

"Before the revolution trials had been made in San Domingo with Batavia cane; the few planters who cultivated it found it greatly superior to ordinary cane as its production was more certain and more abundant.

"These trials were interrupted by internal troubles in the colony. Therefore the experiences made in San Domingo cannot yet be depended on, and we ignore the essential and interesting point for Louisiana, which is the question if it can, in nine months vegetation, attain the right maturity; as to myself, I do not doubt it.

"In Guadeloupe, in the English colonies, and especially in Antigua, the Otaiti cane is cultivated; it has been introduced only since four years, and its advantages over ordinary cane are: 1, that it ripens in ten months instead of fourteen; 2, that in a drought when ordinary cane cannot grow the Otaiti cane is not delayed in its growth; 3, that it comes in lean ground in which the other cane could not grow; 4, that it gives more juice than ordinary cane, and that the same quantity of juice of the Otaiti gives more sugar than the other; 5, that the cane is of a finer color. The only disadvantage of this cane, in comparison with the other, is that its bark is not suitable to light fire in the ovens and kettles, and that it exhausts the ground; but these conveniences are trival considering the fertility of the soil and the wealth of the Louisiana woods.

"The superiority of this cane was so well demonstrated in Antigua that no other is cultivated at present; it is grown in all the English colonies, especially in Jamaica; vessels entirely loaded with this plant are constantly sent from Antigua to Jamaica since two years, notwithstanding the risk and danger threatening them on account of the war. It is probable that the culture of this cane would be applicable to the soil of lower Louisiana, but time alone and different trials can teach the inhabitants which is to be preferred.

"However, the counsels of learned administrators and of the scientists of Europe might enlighten the inhabitants, who, encouraged by Mr. de Bore's success, give their energy with so much ardor to this new culture; but lower Louisiana lacks refiners. There is only one who belongs to Mr. de Bore; when his work is finished, Mr. de Bore willingly lends him to those who ask for him. One realizes how much sugar must be lost for want of this kind of labor.

"Mr. de Bore believes his success is due to his bringing the Mississippi waters into his fields, by means of trenches, which he opens and closes at will with the help of sluices. These ditches keep his ground continually damp during March, April, and May, (season of drought in Louisiana), which time Mr. de Bore has observed to be extremely detrimental to the growth of the cane. These means are practicable in almost all the plantations, the nature and situation of the lands suited to sugar cane culture being about the same all over

lower Louisiana, and the waters of the Mississippi regularly rising from March to July.

"Other informations I have been able to secure on Mr. de Boré's establishment are these: 1. The cane he cultivates, which is indigenous to the country, yields but eight or nine hundred pounds of brown sugar by arpent and the same acreage of lands in San Domingo produces up to 2500 and 3000 pounds. This difference comes, as I have said, from great evaporation.

"2. His establishment consists of a mill, drying room and shed, (the whole built of bricks and covered with tiles), including cylinders and kettles. It cost him but \$4,000. It is true that the labor was done by his own negroes, forty in all, men and women. It is also true that the bricks, tiles, lime and carpenters' wood were all prepared by his laborers, on his plantation, and the entire construction was finished by them in eighteen months. This expense will no doubt appear very moderate for so large and important an establishment. In San Domingo it would have cost 200,000 pounds to put up an establishment of this sort. 3. Mr. de Bore's crop brought him \$12,000, and once more, he employed but forty negroes, not owning a greater number, which caused a large part of his cane to remain standing and to rot for want of hands to cut it.

"A longer sojourn at Mr. de Bore's would have given me more information. There are however, several important questions which he acknowledges that he is unable to answer, being himself a novice in this culture.

"Long experience, comparison of the products during several years, observation of the influence of divers seasons on different cultures, on different species of cane, on the economy of labor, comparison of costs and profits can alone give a complete solution to these questions.

"But an incontestable and very important truth is that the soil of lower Louisiana is adapted to raise cane, that good and fine sugar may be made, and that as much as possible is made considering the hands available to its exploitation."

GENERAL VICTOR COLLOT."

In 1796 there were ten sugar houses in Louisiana.

THE WAR OF 1812---SOME FLORIDA EPISODES

Seizure of Slaves Admitted; Schedule and Value of Slaves; Grand Denial of Illegality; Claimant Persists.

Letter from Col. Edward Nicholls, commanding His British Majesty's Forces in the Floridas in 1814:

Most Excellent Sir: In answer to your letter of the 22nd instant relative to two slaves belonging lately to Mme. D'Olive, I have to acquaint you that those men have entered into His Britannic Majesty's service; that they were the property of an American Magistrate, taken out of the United States, and that my orders being to take all such men into our service they must remain so.

I am fully answerable to Your Excellency for any act which shall take place in the territory of His Catholic Majesty's, but for nothing out of it. I have also to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of the 24th instant which I cannot yet fully answer. All I have to say as to Innerarity's letter enclosed, is that a more infamous, false or scurrilous slander was never written against a British officer, every line of which I will make him eat as soon as Lieut. Castle comes from Perdido. I will prove to Your Excellency how falsely I am accused; wishing Your Excellency long life and health, I remain

Your faithful and obedient servant,
EDWARD NICHOLLS, Col.,
Commanding H. B. M. Forces in the Floridas.

His Excellency, Don Matheo Gonzales,
Governor of Pensacola.

Copied from original in collection of late Mr. J. W. Cruzat.

List and value of such as were appraised of the 45 negroes taken from the possession of the undersigned by the authority of Lieut.-Col. Edward Nicholls of the British mariners:

Harry, most invaluable master ship carpenter	\$ 2,000
Tom, most invaluable master ship carpenter	1,500
Abraham, a house carpenter	1,000
Ben, a baker; his wife, a house servant	1,400
Ambrose, a shoemaker, cost \$900 previous to his apprenticeship of five years	900

Dick and George, two prime field hands.....	1,300
Castle, \$500; his wife, \$400.....	900
Ned, a prime field hand.....	700
His wife, Rena, house servant.....	650
Sophy, a laundress and her child.....	300
Stephen, a carpenter; his wife, Cynthia.....	900
Billy, \$700; his wife Dolly, \$330.....	1,030
Their five children: Crecy, \$500; Flora, \$400; Peet, \$300; Cynthis, \$200; Nero, \$150.....	1,550
Tom, a valuable house servant.....	1,000
Paris, a prime field hand.....	650
Davy, Congo Tom and John Carpenter; Samuel, Dundas, Billy and Charles Congo; Charles, Mozambic, Sandy and Dick. The value of these eleven was average of \$700 a head.....	7,700

\$25,900

Signed: JOHN INNERARITY,

Aggregate, exclusive of the rifle powder, \$25,900.

Col. Edward Nicholls, commanding the forces of His British Majesty to His Excellency, Don Matheo Gonzales, Governor of Pensacola, Fla.

October 22nd, 1814.

Sir: In answer to your letter respecting the things said to be captured illegally at Bon Secours by my orders I have to assure you that I did not authorize any illegal plunder; the greatest part of the letter is a base and infamous falsehood. I have none of the horses nor other things, nor has a British soldier a particle of them in his possession. The Indians, I am told took several horses and your townpeople I am also told bought them from them. All I shall say further on this subject is that when he wants security for his property from a British officer let him keep it out of an enemy's territory; he is thus setting at defiance the order of blockade of my sovereign, and I wish that six times as much damage had been done to his concern. As to the negroes I refer Your Excellency to my letter in answer to yours dated October 7th, 1814.

I beg to assure your Excellency of my most sincere regard and I have the honor to be

Your faithful and humble servant,
EDWARD NICHOLLS, Col.
Commanding H. B. M. Forces in the Floridas.

Letter referring to depredations committed or encouraged by Col. Nicholls, commanding the British forces against property of British subjects in the war of 1812-15.

Pensacola, November 2, 1814.

My dear Sir: The schooner by which this goes to Havana is about to get underway and I have only time to inclose you copy of my letter to Mitchell which accompanies my memorial to the Captain General relative to an unexampled aggression on our property by Col. Nicholls, who has been the scourge of this country; he now holds in the port of San Miguel ten of our negroes who were surprised at Bon Secours by a band of Indians with a few marines which he despatched overland to assist at the attack on Mobile Point. These negroes were then employed in the portage of cotton and tobacco and notwithstanding all the reiterated remonstrances of the Governor he persists in holding them and evades the restoration of a number of horses which were also plundered by the Indians. Till lately I had the most confident expectations that he would at last yield to the remonstrances and requisitions of the Governor, especially after seeing the whole town driven almost to a state of desperation by his violent proceedings and the seduction subrosa of their slaves. My memorial to the Captain General is accompanied by all the official proceedings he held here which were voluminous and of which I had hoped to be able to send you a copy by this opportunity, but Cyrille Morant, who is copying them is not quite finished with them. They will therefore miss this conveyance but there will be another in about a fortnight by which I will forward them. Their perusal will give you much pain and excite your utmost indignation against this audacious tyrant and scurrilous "Houndour."

I trust the Captain General's interference will be prompt, energetic and efficacious. Of this Mr. Mitchell will advise you and I shall soon await upon you with copy of all the proceedings, being at present reluctantly compelled to conclude this mournful communication in consequence of the departure of the vessel.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate servant,
JNO. FORBES.

THE ADMISSION OF LOUISIANA INTO THE UNION

An examination of a map illustrating the territorial expansion of the United States since 1789 will arouse an appreciation of adaptable statecraft potential in the American Constitution.

That document, intended originally to be the fundamental law of a portion of the North American Continent, bounded, in broad lines, on the north by Canada, on the east by the Atlantic ocean on the south by Florida and on the west by the Mississippi river, has been stretched along the proverbial pathway of empire, until its edges are staked well towards the Asiatic shores of the Pacific ocean.

The question of whether or not the Constitution has or has not attained its ultimate degree of adaptability to territorial, social or political changes is not pertinent to the subject of this paper. But a study of the successive adjustments of that instrument of government throughout our history, would seem to show that the recent *pullings* have met with less resistance than was presented to the first tests of its elastic qualities.

The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 was a preliminary pull at the territorial expansion possibilities to be read into or out of the Constitution of the United States.

Article III of the Treaty of Cession of April 3, 1803¹, however, was to present the first real test as to whether the Constitution of 1787 heralded by "We, the people of the United States," could be stretched over territory lying without the boundaries of the new nation which the "people" thereof had called into political existence.

On Saturday, March 17, 1804, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 66 to 21, passed a bill erecting the great Louisiana purchase into two territories, and providing for the temporary government thereof."²

This bill, the provisions of which became the subjects of some interesting debates in both Houses of Congress, debates which foreshadowed the differences to become manifest in the consideration of the later Statehood bill, was approved by President Jefferson on March 26, 1804.

¹MacDonald Select Documents of U. S. History, 1776-1861, p. 160.

²Annals of Congress, 8th Congress, 1st session, p. 1199.

The imperial stretch of territory purchased by Jefferson was divided, for purposes of administration into two parts, and that small portion practically co-extensive with the present State of Louisiana, was delineated.

The section of the bill, relative to our purpose, reads as follows: "That all that portion of country ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies south of the Mississippi Territory, and of an east and west line, to commence on the Mississippi river, at the thirty-third degree of north latitude, and to extend to the western boundary of the said cession, shall constitute a territory of the United States, under the name of the Territory of Orleans."¹

A study of the history of this territory from 1804 forces the conclusion that the inhabitants were but ill content with the restrictions and limitations of their form of government.

In 1809 the Territorial Legislature formulated a memorial to Congress praying for admission into the Union. This memorial, which was forwarded to the Secretary of State at Washington, on the 18th of May, 1809, by Governor Claiborne,² met with the decided opposition of the Governor, who sent with it, a letter containing a clear and positive statement of his views of the situation.

Governor Claiborne, while opposed upon principle to territorial systems of government, was convinced that "the system as it relates to this District, cannot yet be done away without hazarding the interests of the United States, and the welfare of this community." The Governor presented approximate figures for the heterogeneous population of the territory, revealing but a small proportion of 'natives of the United States.' "

The personal opinion of the Governor was fortified by his statement that the memorial had been strongly opposed during its way to passage in the territorial House of Representatives. Local influential opinion was also quoted by the Governor to give weight to his contention that the memorial was badly timed, for a people not ready for incorporation into full privileges of membership in the Federal Union.

On Monday, March 12, 1810, Senator William B. Giles of Virginia presented to the Senate of the United States the memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Orleans. The document was referred to a select committee with instructions to report thereon.³

¹Annals of Congress, 8th Congress, 1st session, Appendix 1293.

²History of Louisiana, Gayarre, Vol. IV., p. 211.

³Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, session 1, p. 596.

The committee reported on April 9, through its chairman, Senator Giles, "a bill to enable the people of the territory of Orleans to form a constitution and a State government, and for the admission of such State, into the union, on an equal footing with the original States, and for other purposes."

This bill was read, ordered to its second reading and on Friday, April 27, it was passed by a vote of 15 to 8.

On the even date this bill was reported to the House of Representatives, by which body it was, on April 28, given into the care of the committee of the whole. No further action was taken during this session as Congress adjourned on May first.

On Monday, December 17, 1810, Mr. Julien Poydras presented a petition of the Legislature of the Territory of Orleans praying for the admission of the Territory as a State.

The memorialists assured the members of the national body that they appeared, "full of confidence in your justice, not to vent any complaints, but to claim their rights. They bring you not testimony of their discontent, but the expression of their wishes and of their hopes." Fealty and homage to the Constitution of the United States were protested, and claims to incorporation into the Union were based on the treaty of 1803.

Strong assertions was made of the inadequateness and inappropriateness of the ordinance of 1787 as a territorial governmental adjustment for the peculiar conditions in the memorializing District. The National Legislature was reminded of its responsibility to those who "are capable of appreciating the advantages of the government which we pray you to extend to us."¹

This petition was referred to a committee, the membership of which was as follows: N. Macon of North Carolina; M. Clay of Virginia; D. Heister of Pennsylvania; J. Nicholson of New York; W. Barry of Kentucky; A. Bigelow of Massachusetts, and R. Winn of South Carolina.²

Ten days later Mr. Macon presented an enabling bill, which was read twice and referred to a committee of the whole.

This bill proposed to admit the Territory of Orleans and the district known as West Florida into the Union as a State. Upon this question of the admission of the Territory, Congress was face to face with an important issue. To pass the bill was to create a prece-

¹Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, session, 2 Appendix p. 2269.

²Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 3rd session, p. 413.

dent, the logical outcome of which, according to Henry Adams, "could not fail to create what was in effect, a new Constitution."

There seems to have been a widespread feeling that the bill, if passed, would undermine the principles and purposes of the Constitution of the original Union. There were fears that it would shift the balance of power from the original parties to the Constitution to those upon whom this bill and its inevitable successors would confer State sovereignty.

On Wednesday, January 2, 1811, the bill was first considered by the House sitting as a committee of the whole.

A request from one representative for information on matters pertaining to the territory, brought forth a short debate, during which some radically divergent view-points were revealed. Uncertainty as to actual population was a reason for caution on the part of some of the speakers; the difficulty inherent in the West Florida situation, "yet in dispute and subject to negotiation," was a motive for advocating delay advanced by other interested representatives.

Mr. Shaffey, of Virginia, would treat the people of the territory "as brothers not as vassals," but, he "was not ready to transfer the inheritance purchased by the blood of our fathers to foreigners." He would treat them "as equals." would render unto them "justice;" but, he would keep them "under the fostering hand of the general government; would let them become accustomed to our government, before they were permitted to govern themselves who had so lately emerged from despotism."

Mr. Macon set forth the advantages of the position held by New Orleans in the commercial economy of the United States. He would not delay action because of uncertain boundary limits, since that objection "admitted in its full force would only require a modification of the bill reserving to Congress the power of changing the boundary of the territory." The people of that territory 'were a part of the nation'; the question was not one of stock, the "true question was ought they to be a State?" The political foresight of this advocate of the bill was then expressed, "the great object is to make us one people; to make this nation one."¹

On Thursday, January 3, 1811, Mr. Bibb of Georgia gave notice that upon the next discussion of the bill he would move to strike therefrom the provision inclusive of the land which had been the subject of the proclamation of President Madison. Furthermore, he would at once submit a resolution inquiring into the expediency of

¹Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 3rd session, pp. 482-485.

annexing that disputed section to the Mississippi territory or, at least, of erecting it into a separate territorial government.¹

The bill was again tossed upon the horns of divergent opinion on January 4, during a sitting of the committee of the whole, and the debates increased in length and gave a warning note of political conservatism and of sectional bitterness.

Mr. Wheaton of Massachusetts, maintained that the bill was both unconstitutional and inexpedient. He interpreted "The United States of America," for which the Constitution had been framed, exclusively rather than inclusively. It was never intended to include the people of the Territory of Orleans, who were foreigners,—subject to a foreign government at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

It is interesting to note that while speaking to his view of the question at issue, Mr. Wheaton took a prophetic peep into the future and saw a vision, some of the misty outlines of which have developed through the intervening years into present day realities.

This attempt to stretch the Constitutional aegis of the government of the United States over a near-by but foreign land and people was rendered doubly dangerous because of its illimitable possibilities. In fact, "that it could not have been intended that the Constitution should embrace these people and this territory may be argued from the extreme danger of carrying the principle into operation. If we may extend our limits at all, without the consent of the people, further than what is expressed in the Constitution, who can tell where may be our ultimate bounds, or what number of States we may have in the Union? Purchase and conquest are objects of ambition. The great Napoleon may have more land to sell, and Spain may possess what she cannot retain. May we not in "time have the whole of South America, some of the West India Islands and perhaps Great Britain." "Then," Mr. Wheaton added pathetically, "what will become of the old United States?" He pictured the shifting of the center of political power to the new sovereignties that would be created by the success of the pending purpose, and held that the condition would then be, that, "instead of those new States being annexed to us, we shall be annexed to them, lose our independence and become altogether subject to their control."

The incorporation into our national life of territory that formed no part of our political being when "our independence and national existence was acknowledged by the nations of the world" might, through incitement to jealousy find its test in the arena of war, not-

¹ Ibid, p. 486.

withstanding the "pacific disposition of the people of the United States."

Other questions more local in their setting, such as the representation of the projected State in Congress, and the inopportune-ness of the bill because of the unsettled question of West Florida were discussed by Mr. Wheaton.

Mr. Miller, of Tennessee, sympathized somewhat with those who were opposed to the bill because of the non-American character of the population of the proposed State, "for inasmuch as we know that if we send Paddy to Paris, that Paddy he will come back; the idea is certainly not unworthy of our consideration."

This speaker also objected to the bill because it included territory in dispute with Spain, and argued that if it were erected into a State that the power to negotiate that matter would be lost. Mr. Miller was further apprehensive that the proposed State would command the waterways to the Gulf of Mexico, and that the people of the Mississippi Territory and of Tennessee would be dependent upon Louisiana for communication with that body of water. He, therefore, proposed an amendment to the bill, the effect of which was to unite the territories of Orleans and Mississippi into one State, which would include all of the country belonging to the United States east of the Mississippi river and south of Tennessee. Size was the only objection which Mr. Miller could see to this proposed union of the two territories, because, "divide and subdivide this country as you will, their interests in a political point of view, will be the same. Their representatives in this House will neither be increased nor diminished by a consolidation. In the Senate the plan proposed is greatly to the advantage of the old States. In that House, they will have but two Senators instead of four or six, according to the number of States that will be made."¹

Mr. Rhea, of Tennessee, denied the constitutionality of the proposed amendment and contended that it was in direct conflict with the provisions of the Treaty of Cession. He also saw no reason for the proposed territorial combination in the argument brought forward by Mr. Miller, that a white population would be thereby secured that would render ineffectual any contemplated slave insurrection. Mr. Rhea entered solemn protest against the doctrine that no territory which was not a part of the original States could not be incorporated into co-ordinate statehood, in fact, he held such doctrine to be unconstitutional. The United States had the sovereign power to purchase adjacent territory, and the objection to its incorporation,

¹Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 3rd session, pp. 495-497.

if ever valid, had become invalid because of the Treaty of 1803. The territory of Orleans was not foreign territory; the population was not French population; the bill did not have as its object the transference "to foreigners what has been obtained by the blood of the old States * * * * * whatever the bill contemplated to give, it proposes to give to citizens of the United States."

Another argument against the Miller amendment was presented by Mr. Bibb, who held that such a combination of territory was a breach of contract with Georgia, since her consent was necessary to "any addition to or division of the Territory of Mississippi."

After further discussion for and against the proposed territorial aggrandizement the "amendment was not agreed to," at least, so runs the curt statement of the *Annals of Congress*.¹

The next effort at adjustment was offered by Mr. Barry who would make the inclusion of West Florida within the confines of the new State more acceptable to those who considered it a point of strong opposition.

This objection Mr. Barry sought to meet by an amendment which would reserve to the United States the power to fix the bounds of the section in dispute and dispose of it in any manner that might be deemed proper.

Before the proposed solution of the difficulty could be tossed upon the winds of debate, it was withdrawn by its mover, in order, that Mr. Sheffey might offer a substitute for that part of the bill which named the boundaries of the proposed State of Louisiana.

This motion, agreed to by a vote of 63 ayes,—nays not recorded, was as follows: "All that territory now contained within the limits of the territory of Orleans, except that part lying east of the river Iberville to a line to be drawn along the middle of the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the ocean."¹

No sooner had the question of the eastern boundary of the State to be, been removed from the field of controversy than Mr. Miller projected a suffrage restriction upon the proposed new member of the Union, which, in the light of subsequent events, seems like an index finger pointing sternly to the future. He proposed to amend the bill so as to restrict the right of suffrage to "white males."

One argument brought forward in support of this motion was that the large proportion of "mixed population" in the territory of Orleans made it highly probable that a "person of color" might be elected to Congress. In that event, Mr. Miller would "feel no inclination to act" with the new member.

¹*Annals of Congress*, 3rd session, O. 513.

Mr. Poindexter admitted that there was in the territory a goodly number of "wealthy and respectable people" of the class described by Mr. Miller.

No further debate is recorded upon this motion, which, though negatived, received an "aye" vote of 17. The Annals, however, fail to record either the number or the personnel of the negative vote.¹

It was then ordered that the bill be engrossed in preparation for a third reading.

On Monday, January 14, 1811, the statehood bill of the Territory of Orleans was again before the assembled representatives of the States of the Union, and on its trip to "final passage," it was to meet the full force of legal inquiry, of constitutional probing and of bitter sectional opposition.

Mr. Pitkin, of Connecticut, called the attention of the House of Representatives to the undetermined condition of the western boundary of the Territory of Orleans, and of the necessity of keeping the right of definitive limitation in the hands of Congress, as a reservation in the proposed enabling bill.

Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky, took issue with those who held that any principle of the Constitution would be violated by the admission of the Territory as a State and scouted as "ideal" the fear of any international complication arising from disputed boundary questions. He cited instances of the adjustment of such troubles by negotiation and plead earnestly for the "claims of this Territory to State sovereignty."

Opposition to the admission of the Territory of Orleans into the Union as a State attained its climax in the speech of Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts. Henry Adams says that "Quincy's protest wanted only one quality to give it force." He spoke in "the name of no party to the original compact."² The people of his own State did not second his strenuous effort to prevent what he termed a "death blow to the Constitution."

Mr. Quincy maintained that the details of the bill were of little moment, whereas the principles of the bill jeopardized the liberties and rights of the people of the United States.

Stripping the speech of much of its rhetoric, we find that Mr. Quincy hoped that the danger might be averted, although its imminence threatened, if it did not justify a revolution. He called the Constitution a "political compact" from which the original parties would be released if the "assumed principle of the bill became a law."

¹Ibid, p. 513.

²History of U. S., Henry Adams, Vol. V, p. 325.

The bill was an attack upon the fundamental intent and purpose of the Constitution. He claimed that the reliance of the advocates of the bill lay in the opening clause of Article IV, Section III of the Constitution;—"new States may be admitted by Congress into this Union." But, Mr. Quincy bounded "this Union" on the west by the Mississippi river, and on the south by the 31° of north latitude, along that line to the Apalachicola, thence to its junction with the Flint, thence to the St. Marys and along that river to the sea. The people of Louisiana lay entirely without these lines, and therefore, could not have come within the intent of "We, the people" who formed "this Union."

If this newly proposed political unit became a fact, the question would eventually be whether, "The proprietors of the good old United States" should control, "or whether they and their Constitution and their political rights shall be trampled under foot by foreigners introduced through a breach of the Constitution."

The most famous outburst of Mr. Quincy on this occasion was his belief committed to writing, that, "If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of this Union; that it will free the States from their moral obligation, and, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must."

A call to order was entered by Mr. Poindexter and the Speaker decided, that the third clause of the declaration of Mr. Quincy "was contrary to the order of debate." Appeal was taken from the ruling of the chair and it was sustained by a vote of 53 ayes to 56 nays.

Mr. Quincy rejoiced at the above result, and explained his efforts against the bill as a purpose "to preserve, to guard the Constitution of my country that I denounce this attempt * * * * I intended it as a voice of warning."

After denying any Constitutional bases on which the bill might be placed, Mr. Quincy denounced its justification under the treaty—making power as a "monstrous proposition."

"That a power under the Constitution should have the ability to change and annihilate the instrument from which it derives all its power,—and if the treaty making power can introduce new partners to the political rights of the States, then there is no length, however extravagant, or inconsistent with the end to which it may be wrested."

Constitutional arguments exhausted, and moral and political consequences of the bill visualized, Mr. Quincy found rest in the confession that "the first public love of my heart is the Common-

wealth of Massachusetts" and that out of that love had grown his love for the Union. His opposition to the bill sprang not from animosity to those seeking the protection of his beloved Constitution, "but from the deep conviction that it contained a principle incompatible with the liberties and safety of my country."

In this belief this ardent defender of the "good old United States" moved an indefinite postponement of the bill.¹

When the consideration of the bill was reopened on Thursday, January 15, the above motion was still before the House.

Mr. Poindexter opened the debate, and waiving for the nonce any reply to Mr. Quincy, turned his attention to the question of the western boundary of the proposed State. Notwithstanding the possibility of war with Spain growing out of an undue national claim of territory as feared by Mr. Pilkin, Mr. Poindexter held that the matter might be safely left to negotiation, since "it belongs to the high contracting parties, to render that certain which by the deed of cession is equivocal, and whatever line they may consent to establish as the western extremity of the country *ceded under the name of Louisiana* will constitute the permanent limit of the State, whether it extends to the Rio Bravo, or the Sabine, or a meridian passing by Natchitoches." In short, the matter would be adjusted according to the "practices of governments" which differed "in circumstances and not in nature."

The Annals relate that "twice successively" Mr. Poindexter was called to order during this speech, but that both calls were withdrawn before action could be taken upon them.

One of these calls, may have followed the bit of Congressional amenity that shot its shaft into the environs of the "hub" of the old Bay State.

The gentlemen from Mississippi was seeking to prove the loyalty to the United States of the people of the Territory of Orleans, notwithstanding the charges against them of "French partiality." The existence of such a preference was admitted, but it could not be made, —the "basis on which to justify a refusal to emancipate the great body of the people from the trammels of territorial vassalage." And, now for the shaft: "Is it a good reason why the people who reside within the circle of the Essex junto should not enjoy equal rights with the rest of their fellow citizens, that those who compose that association are avowedly the partisans of England? I presume a proposition to trench upon their rights would be viewed with the utmost abhorrence and detestation, as an act of political intolerance,

¹Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 3rd session, pp. 523-542.

unprecedented in the history of this government. And yet, sir, I venture to pronounce that these British attachments, fostered and cherished amidst the wrongs and insults which we have received from that nation, not only in this *nursery of tory principles*, but in most of the commercial cities of the United States, have already produced more mischief to this nation than the French influence existing in New Orleans could produce in half a century."⁰

Mr. Poindexter then considered some of the objections advanced against the bill by Mr. Quincy. The bill rested upon a sound Constitutional basis; the right of the United States to acquire property followed as an "indispensable attribute of sovereignty" from power confined by Article IV of the Constitution which gave Congress not only the right to possess territory, but to dispose of it and regulate it.

After further argument to prove that the United States was possessed of the right to obtain territory "either by war or compact," the question in logical sequence to that right,—whether such territory could be elevated into political sovereignty as a State, was considered. The Constitutional basis for such political enhancement of acquired territory was found in Article VI according to which, treaties duly made, "under the authority of the United States" became the supreme law of the land," and were as binding as an article of the Constitution itself.

In that view of the case, Article III of the treaty of Paris of April 30, 1803, empowered Congress to dispose of the territory acquired by that treaty, according to its stipulations.

Mr. Quincy had held that not by the "remotest" implication drawn from any clause of the Constitution could it be shown that the power to admit new States could be made inclusive of territory external to the original federal boundaries.

Political power, according to Mr. Quincy, was inherent in the thirteen "original partners" to the Constitution, but his opponent from Mississippi asserted that the source of political power was in the people; that it was not a "chartered privilege" or a "lenial or a purchased right."

This being the case, it followed that each State possessed power in direct proportion to its population and that, therefore, the center of power would shift as the center of population shifted.

The views of Mr. Quincy was declared to be incompatible with the "genius of a free government."

A second call to order may have been intended to intercept

⁰Ibid p. 558.

some of the sharp sallies sent towards Mr. Quincy by his antagonist from the South. The threat of a dissolution of the Union, as hurled by Mr. Quincy was thus thrown back, "the people of the eastern States will never give their consent to a dissolution of the Union" since ties of nature and interest would serve as girths, and * * * * * "Surely there is patriotism enough even in the city of Boston to counteract the deteriorating principles of that gentleman."

Mr. Gold of New York, who followed Mr. Poindexter, maintained that the principle advanced by that speaker,—that the Constitution afforded no limitation to the scope of the treaty making power, "would subvert the very foundation of the Constitution"; in fact, it was a "principle of construction" against which he wished to enter "solemn protest."

Again, the admission of "external" territory to the statehood relation could never be "indifferent to the political interests of the old States, * * * * * whether this empire should be bounded by its existing limits, or by the shores of the Pacific ocean. Whether it should be a commonwealth of reasonable limits, adapted to a lax rule of a popular Constitution, or a government of acquisition and conquest, whose ambition knew no limits, and in whose extension the original States would be lost."

After further debates, a vote was taken on the motion for indefinite postponement made by Mr. Quincy, and this effort to retard the purpose of the bill was lost by a mandate of 28 to 78.

The question of the passage of the bill was then presented and by a vote of 77 ayes to 36 nays, the House of Representatives sanctioned an Enabling Act for the Territory of Orleans.

Because of the many questions,—constitutional, sectional, social,—which were posed during the long debates, it may be interesting to analyze the vote on the bill.

Reduced to geographical sections the vote was as follows:

	Ayes	Nays
New England.....	7	20
Middle States.....	32	11
South.....	30	5
West.....	8	0
	—	—
	77	36

Of the Massachusetts delegation, six cast votes in favor of the bill to admit the "foreign" State, whereas but four representatives from that State were sufficiently in sympathy with Mr. Quincy to throw their ballots with his against this back door admission of a

State, through a "breach in the Constitution," into the full political rights of the "old United States."

Vermont gave one vote in favor of the bill, but not one "aye" was registered from Rhode Island, Connecticut or New Hampshire. Thus New England on a whole section, in so far as Congressional views registered in ballots express community opinion, sanctioned the exclusive, conservative, illiberal attitude of Josiah Quincy.

Of the middle group of States,—New York gave nine votes for the passage of the bill and four against it. New Jersey cast five ballots for the bill, and none towards its defeat. Pennsylvania rolled up a fine record of thirteen ayes, with only three nays for the rejection of the bill. Maryland gave five in favor, and three against, whereas, Delaware cast her full strength,—one vote— into the effort to kill the Enabling Act.

The southern sweep of the "old thirteen" has a *broad* record. Virginia gave twelve votes in favor of the bill; North Carolina, nine; South Carolina, six; and Georgia three. Only five votes from this group were registered "nay," and of these, Virginia cast two and North Carolina three.

Out of the west came eight votes to extend to the people of the Territory of Orleans the rights of Statehood, and not one "nay" lessened the value of this effort. Of the eight votes cast, Kentucky cast four, Tennessee, three; while Ohio gave the force of her one vote.

The Enabling Act as passed by the House was presented to the Senate on Wednesday, January 16, 1811, and after the usual preliminary formalities, it was referred on January 18th to the following committee: Charles Tait of Georgia; Jas. A. Bayard of Delaware; Chauncy Goodrich of Connecticut; Henry Clay of Kentucky and Andrew Gregg of Pennsylvania.

The bill was reported from the committee on January 25th and interesting amendments were recommended.

One amendment which fixed definite boundaries to the future State, was as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the river Sabine, thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river, including all islands, to the thirty-second degree of latitude; thence due north, to the northernmost part of the thirty-third degree of north latitude; thence along the said parallel to the river Mississippi; thence down the said river to the southern boundary of the Mississippi Territory; thence along the said boundary line to the Pearl river; thence down the western bank of said river to lake Borgne; thence along the middle of said lake to the gulf of Mexico; thence

bounded by the said Gulf to the place of beginning—including all islands within three leagues of the coast.”¹

The amendments to the bill were made the order of the day for January 28th and then on a motion of William H. Cranford of Georgia, sustained by a vote of 21 to 9 that portion of the above amendment which included West Florida to the Pearl river, within the confines of the future Louisiana, was stricken out.

Another recommendation of the committee was made in the form of an addition to the bill whereby it was to be enacted, “That..... per centum of the net proceeds of the sales of the lands of the United States shall be applied, after the.....day of to laying out and constructing public roads and levees in the said State, as the Legislature thereof may require.”

This proposal so rich in political material for oratorical brilliance seems to have met with no attention, at least, so far as any recorded consideration goes, because no further reference is made to it during subsequent discussion of the bill. But, at least, the blanks in this recommendation of the Senate Committee must have been filled, and the amendment accepted, as section five of the approved bill fixes the “per centum” at five and the date for the beginning of the enforcement of the provision at January first.

On January 29th, while the Senate was sitting as a committee of the whole, on a motion by Senator Bayard, the provision in the first amendment, which reserved to the United States the power of changing the limits of the territory “east of the river Mississippi and the island of Orleans” was stricken out.

The committee, then, by a vote of 24 to 8 amended the bill by inserting the word “white” in section two, before the words “male citizens of the United States,” and thus safe-guarded the electorate authorized to choose the members of the first constitutional convention of Louisiana.

The bill was then reported by the Committee of the Whole, and on the same day, before the Senate in regular session, met a fresh effort to block its way to immediate availability.

Senator Dana, of Connecticut, proposed an amendment which would preclude the admission of the State under the pending bill, “unless each of the original States shall consent to the same, or there shall be a Constitutional amendment empowering the Congress to admit into the Union new States formed beyond the boundaries of the United States, as known and understood at the time of establishing the Constitution for the United States.”

¹Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 3rd session, p. 104.

On the following day, on motion of Henry Clay, the amendment of Senator Dana was divided and that portion requiring the consent of each "original" State to the admission of Louisiana was negatived by a vote of yeas 10, to nays 18.

The second division of this blocking motion met defeat in a vote of yeas 8, to nays 17.

Notwithstanding a motion by Senator Bayard that the bill be postponed to the first Monday of the next December, it was carried to passage on Thursday, February 7th by a vote of 22 to 10.

On Saturday, February 9th, the amended bill was considered by the House of Representatives.

The Senate amendment according to which the western boundary of the State to be was given a definite marking, received the unanimous consent of the House, notwithstanding the opinion that "the United States might have a claim of a greater extent, and had a color of title to the Rio Bravo." In fact, it was held that in fixing the western boundary at the Sabine, great moderation had been exercised and that assent to the bill was not "to be understood as surrendering any claim the United States might have to a greater extent."

The amendment of the Senate whereby "free colored people of mixed blood" were excluded from the electorate that would choose delegates to the State Constitutional Convention, met an objection from Mr. Smilie Sonlie of Pennsylvania, who was of the opinion that this matter should be left to the people of the State; that the Convention of 1787, in meeting this question "had used only the word 'persons'".

The short consideration of this amendment developed the fact that the majority of the House were in favor of leaving this matter to the Convention and the Legislature of the Territory and that opinion prevailed by a vote against the motion of yeas 49 to nays 60.

The long suffering bill in its newly altered condition was returned to the Senate, and this body by a vote of yeas 11 to nays 19 refused to recede from its position in favor of a white initial electorate for the new State and a message was sent to the House insisting upon the acceptance of the rejected amendment.

The next day on a motion made by Mr. Barrett of Virginia, and on which the yeas and nays were demanded, the House by a vote of 69 to 45 agreed to accept the amendment of the Senate, thus confining the privilege of voting for members of the Convention to "free white males."

On Wednesday, February 20, 1811, the Enabling Act was approved by President Madison.

By proclamation, on October 27, 1810, President Madison had taken possession of West Florida to the Perdido in the name and behalf of the United States," and Governor W. C. C. Claiborne of the Orleans Territory was directed to extend over that district "the authorities and functions legally appertaining to his office.¹

But the territory authorized by the Enabling Act to take the steps precedent to Statehood, did not include by the provisions of that act, the district annexed to it by Presidential proclamation in 1810. The people of that district, therefore, could not be represented in the convention which was to be called under the provisions of the Act.

The Legislature of the Territory of Orleans promptly apportioned the members of the Constitutional Convention, and the election therefore was held on Monday, September 3, 1811.

The Convention met on November 4, 1811, and Le Breton D'Orgenois was president of the temporary and Julien Poydras, president of the permanent organization.

On January 13, 1812, the preamble to the new constitution was passed to a third reading. The boundaries of the State of Louisiana as given in this prelude to the document do not include the section known as West Florida.

An attempt had been made to include that district, "or any part thereof, as soon as the title to the same may be adjusted and it may be convenient to the government of the United States to annex it."

This motion was lost on January 13, but on the 23rd of the same month a motion was made to adopt a memorial which had been presented asking that West Florida be annexed to the State to be erected and by a vote of 25 to 12 this motion was decided in the affirmative.

The Constitutional Convention adjourned on January 28, 1812.

On Wednesday, March 4, 1812, President Madison transmitted to the Senate and the House of Representatives the proceedings of the convention.

In the House on March 5th, Mr. Dawson of Virginia moved that the Constitution of Louisiana be referred to a select committee.

Mr. Poindexter pointed out that one provision of the Enabling Act had not been complied with. No separate instrument recognizing the Federal Constitution, as required by the Act, had been forwarded, although such recognition was embodied in the newly

¹Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Richardson, Vol. I, p. 480.

framed documents. He, therefore, moved that the select committee consider the question of repealing the section of the Enabling Act which required said separate formality.

Mr. Dawson accepted this adjustment as a part of his motion and the new Constitution was then referred to a Committee under his chairmanship.

On Monday, March 16, 1812, the "bill for the admission of the State of Louisiana into the union, and to extend the laws of the United States to the said State," was reported by the committee; it was read twice and referred to a committee of the whole.

One of the most interesting sections of the long and intricate discussions over the question of the admission of this new and "alien" State to the society of the "old United States" is to be found in the debates over the adjustment of the West Florida controversy.

As we have noted the constitution of the new State did not include West Florida, the district which had been declared to be under the possession and administrative disposal of the United States by the Presidential proclamation of 1810, and now Congress must take cognizance of the situation.

The bill for the admission of the Territory of Mississippi was pending at this period and therefore, Mr. Poindexter considered it the proper time to settle the controverted boundary question. He proposed an amendment, the substance of which was, that as soon as the consent of the Legislature of the new State could be obtained, that West Florida to the Pearl River be made a part of the State of Louisiana, to be governed by the laws thereof, "Provided nevertheless," so reads the concluding clause of the proposed amendment, "That the title of the United States to said tract of country shall be and remain subject to future negotiation."¹

Mr. Dawson was of the opinion that a separate law should provide for the annexation of the section in dispute, to the new State, but Mr. Clay, then Speaker of the House, maintained that the definite limits of the new member of the union should be incorporated in one bill,—“or would it be better to subject inquirers to the necessity of wading through two or three acts to find out the boundary of a single State.”

A motion embodying the views of the Speaker was agreed to by a vote of 47 to 25.

One bit of reflex from an old annoying international question was an amendment proposed by Henry Clay, the "Harry of the West," requiring the recognition by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana,

¹Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, session 2, p. 1217.

of "the freedom of navigation of the Mississippi." This finale to an old source of trouble was adopted without division.

One question now posed was a logical result of the annexation amendment. Mr. Johnson agreed that the people of West Florida thus proposed to be annexed by bill to Louisiana, were without representation in the councils of the State and were, therefore, denied an opportunity to have a voice in the framing of the laws by which they were to be governed. He, therefore, moved an amendment to this much amended bill, "To divide the territory to be annexed to Louisiana into two counties to be called Feliciana and Baton Rouge, each to send one Senator and one Representative" to the Legislature of Louisiana.

The point was made by Mr. Poindexter that according to the accepted amendment the annexation of West Florida was conditional upon the consent of the Legislature of the new State, and therefore, Congress could not grant to the people of that district, representation in the law-making body of a State of which they were not a part.

On March 19, Mr. Johnson again spoke for his amendment using as an argument in its favor a memorial then in possession of the House stating the consent of the Convention of Orleans to the annexation of West Florida.

Mr. Calhoun argued that the proposed amendment presented a principle of representation which conflicted with that adopted by the convention of Orleans. Furthermore, it added another condition to the bill which had authorized the people of the territory to form a Constitution and a State government and had added it after the adjournment of the convention which had accepted the conditions of the original bill. According to the member from South Carolina, "the proposed amendment would be engrafting the principle of territorial government on a State government to which it is wholly inapplicable; it was, in fact, assuming to make a constitution for a people of a State, whose inalienable right it was to form a constitution for themselves."¹

Mr. Nelson of Maryland maintained the constitutionality of the proposed amendment and held that as Louisiana was not yet a State, Congress was competent to add to the conditions under which Statehood was to be attained.

Mr. Gholson of Virginia said that according to the constitution adopted by the Convention of Orleans, the Senate of Louisiana was

¹Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, Part 2, p. 1225.

to consist of fourteen members and that the amendment proposed to add two more, "in defiance of the constitution."

Mr. Johnson's amendment was then put to the House and was lost by the close vote of 39 to 37.

As soon as this result was announced, Mr. Gholson presented another amendment, which provided,—“That the people of that portion of West Florida, hereby proposed to be made a part of the State of Louisiana, shall, before the election of Senators and a Representative to the Congress of the United States, be invested with, and enjoy equal rights of representation and equal privileges in every respect, with the people of the residue of the said State.”

This amendment was offered as being a condition post-added to those enumerated in the original bill, the terms of which had been accepted by the Convention.

Mr. Clay argued in favor of the amendment and showed that the Convention itself, had attached a "proposition" to their acceptance of the bill and that was the incorporation of the West Florida district. Therefore, Congress could accept or reject that condition and might do so "with or without qualification." Congress had, in fact, given, under certain conditions, a part of the territory, and now but sought to safe-guard the rights of the people in the alienated district, leaving to the Legislature of the new State the power to decide "how those rights shall be invested."

The amendment was agreed to by the committee of the whole, which arose and reported the bill to the House.

On Friday, March 20, 1812, the House of Representatives passed the bill for the admission of Louisiana into the Union and "to extend the laws of the United States thereto." The vote was 79 to 23.

The Senate, on April 2, notified the House that the bill, with some amendments, had been passed.

The House on April 6, proceeded to consider the several amendments of the Senate and decided to accept all of them. The Senate had rejected the annexation of West Florida to the State of Louisiana and in this rejection the House concurred.

In this final condition the bill was passed by the House on April 6, 1812, and to it President Madison affixed his signature on April 8, 1812.

An interesting phase of the history of the admission of Louisiana into the Union is found in the fact, that although on Wednesday, April 1, 1812, the Senate of the United States passed the bill to admit the State minus the West Florida section, there was then pending

before that body a bill to enlarge the confines of the new State so as to include the rejected district.

The people of the territory between the Pearl river and the Mississippi, had petitioned for annexation to the new State.

Senator Bayard on March 24, 1812, moved that the petition be referred to the same committee which was to consider the bill for the admission of Louisiana. This motion prevailed and the committee was instructed "to report by bill or otherwise."

On Friday, March 27, a "bill to enlarge the limits of Louisiana" was reported, read and passed to a second reading.

The third reading of the bill was on April 1st, but no amendment was presented and on Wednesday, March 8th, the day of the signing of the Statehood bill, the act for the enlargement of Louisiana was passed by a vote of 21 to 5.

The House of Representatives received the notice of the passage of the above bill on Thursday, April 9. It was read twice on that day and ordered to a third reading. This bill was passed on April 10, and was approved by the President on April 14, 1812.

According to the terms of this bill, the annexation of West Florida, between the Pearl River and the Mississippi, to the State of Louisiana was dependent upon the consent of the Legislature of that State.

In case that consent was granted, the bill required that the Legislature provide, at its first session, for the representation of the people of the accepted district and also to secure to them all rights and privileges enjoyed by other citizens of the State. The law enacted under this requirement was to be subject to revision by Congress.¹

On the fourth day of August, 1812, the Legislature of Orleans Territory accepted the terms of the bill of admission, and the State of Louisiana, once an alien land, once a part of that greater Louisiana which had served as a royal foot-ball for Spain and France, became in full panoply of extent, a co-ordinate unit in the "new" United States envisaged by Henry Clay,² entered the society of the "good old United States,"—and over it stretches, still intact, the Constitution of the original Federal Union." LILLIE RICHARDSON.

¹Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, Part 2, Appendix p. 2972.

²Life and Speeches of Clay, Mallory, Vol. I, p. 209.

NEW ORLEANS

By W. O. Hart

In 1917, the Bi-centennial year of the founding of New Orleans, there was published in Paris a book entitled "The History of the Founding of New Orleans," by Baron Marc de Villiers and some statements therein contained refer to the site of New Orleans before 1717 and, whether real or imaginary, lend color to the early history of the city.

The Baron states that on March 30, 1682, La Salle, with 22 of his companions passed by the village of the Houma Indians without knowing it, for there was a fog at the time and it was too far away to be seen. Three days later they camped two miles below the village of the Tangibaho, which had recently been destroyed by the Houmas. Comparing closely the letters of several of these early voyagers, the Baron reached the conclusion that this village was situated near the spot where New Orleans was subsequently founded.

We know that La Salle left Quebec February 2nd, 1682, and explored the Mississippi its entire length, reaching the mouth of the river on April 6th, and what was popularly known as La Salle's Louisiana became later the Louisiana of Bienville, extending practically from the Alleghany Mountains to the Rockies and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

The baron further says that on March 9th, 1699, Iberville, the brother of Bienville, saw the future city of New Orleans. "The Indians I have with me," he wrote, "have shown me the spot where they make their portage from the lake to the river, and the distance was very short."

The next year Iberville took advantage of this information and reached the Mississippi through Lake Ponchartrain and the Indian portage, which he said "is half of the way full of water and woods." He also found the site of the ancient village referred to by La Salle and there planted some cane, which he had brought from Martinique. One month later Penicaut, one of his companions who was starting for an expedition in the upper Mississippi, slept on the spot marked by Iberville and under huge cypress trees which, at night, he wrote, "were crowned with guinea chickens weighing almost thirty pounds each," which were evidently wild turkeys.

The name of this portage before becoming definitely called the Portage of Bayou St. John, varied with almost every explorer and

geographer. It was called Portage of the Lost Peoples, Portage of Lake Ponchartrain, Portage of the River of Fishes, and Portage of Choupicatcha, evidently from the tribe of Indians which gave us the name of one of our streets, Tchoupitoulas, the orthography and orthoepy of which are a puzzle to all strangers.

M. de Remonville in 1697, by returning from a trip to the Illinois country, first conceived the idea of establishing a fort or frontier post somewhere on this portage, to hold the English back, but the plan was soon abandoned, though up to 1707 Remonville never gave up the idea that this portage was the proper place for a settlement and a fort. However, his enthusiasm was lost with his friends and several governors thought it foolish to try to settle such a wild and useless land, as the baron says, "full of alligators, snakes and other venomous beasts."

But still, some Frenchmen, wide awake to the future and understanding the importance of having settlements in the Mississippi Valley, at least for the purpose of making trade easier with Canada, procured the issuance of an order on the 18th of May, 1715, directing Bienville to erect a post at what is now Natchez and at other places along the river. In the same year Crozat wrote a memorial, describing three settlements by Iberville,—Biloxi, the portage to the Mississippi, and an abandoned fort on the Mississippi about the spot afterwards described as English Turn. Crozat, to whom Louis XIV, having become tired of Louisiana, had granted the province with the exclusive trade as far north as the Illinois, was a wealthy Paris Banker, and both believing there were gold mines and mines of precious stones along the river, he was to give the King a share therein. Cadillac was appointed governor by Crozat, with Bienville as Lieutenant-Governor, the idea being to open trade with Mexico. Bienville was selected, because it was believed that he was the best available man to handle the savage Indians.

For about five years Crozat struggled with the colony, losing a large part of his fortune in an endeavor to make it profitable, and in 1716, the Council of the Regency sadly admitted that if Louisiana still existed it was by a kind of miracle, rather than by the care of man, the inhabitants being forsaken for several years without any help from France.

In 1717 the Company of the West was formed to take over Louisiana, and this Company, headed by John Law, as almost its first act, decided to found a city on the Mississippi River. Bienville was reinstated and a commission as Governor issued to him on October 24th.

In September, 1717, some one wrote from Louisiana to France mentioning "a curve in the river about twenty-five leagues from its mouth, a good place to build a great port," but Bienville, after a careful study of the question, selected "the most beautiful crescent of the river as the actual site of New Orleans. Thus, from its very foundation, New Orleans was the "Crescent City," though now, by many additions to it, each arm of the crescent proceeds, disk like, up and down the river.

"High Finance" was manifest in the financing of the Company of the West. On the 18th of September, 1717, it proceeded to issue 56 millions of French livres, or francs, of bills and organized the new city by appointing numerous officers with high sounding titles and large salary, although the settlement then had no official name. De L'Epinay, who succeeded Cadallic as governor, it is said named the city "La Nouvelle Orleans," in honor of the then Regent, the Duke of Orleans, thinking that such a name from such a patron would make a better impression on the colonists than Indian names like Biloxi, or Natchitoches, or a name without any special meaning, like Mobile. Bienville doubtless joined with him in selecting the name and they were right in their surmise, for when they came to procure settlers for the new colony, though these settlers did not know when they sailed from France where their future home was to be, they went in good faith and full of hope.

The writer above quoted states that it was four years after this before the name was firmly established, many believing that the French word for "new" should have been "Nouveau" instead of "Nouvelle," but the euphony of the latter pleased the ear and as it had been used before, it finally became the settled name.

Some settlers must have reached New Orleans from France in 1717, but it is difficult, in fact impossible, to state exactly where they laid the first foundations of the city, nor is it possible to state with exact certainty where the city was exactly established. Different authors give different dates, but the best research fixes February 9, 1718, as the logical date, because on that date Bienville received his commission, though he may not have been on the actual spot until a short time thereafter. De Laharpe fixes some time in March 1718, but his estimate is no better than that of others.

Bienville on the 10th of June, 1718, wrote that the work of building was going on as fast as the scarcity of workmen would allow, but that envy, jealousy, and intrigue retarded for a long time effective progress of the work of settlement. It is stated that as late as 1727 on very few maps of America did New Orleans appear. On August

26, 1718 sixty eight colonists arrived from France and it was said that the population of the colony or city was then one hundred. Le Page du Pratz, one of the settlers sent by the Western Company, writes that he found but "one miserable hut," as he described it, which, up to that time Bienville had built on the spot where the new city was to be established. Such of the colonists as were on Lake Ponchartrain and the settlements of Biloxi, Pensacola and Mobile, did all they could to prevent the establishment of New Orleans, feeling that from its location, if it were very firmly established, their prestige and importance would begin to diminish, which, as we all know, was eventually the case.

The magnificent and massive bronze medal struck by the city of Paris last October in commemoration of the Two Hundredth anniversary of the founding of New Orleans and presented to the mayor of New Orleans with appropriate ceremonies on Saturday, February 9, 1918, contains but four names as entitled to recognition with the founding of the city of New Orleans, and one of these is Pauger, the others being LaSalle, Iberville and Bienville.

In 1719 two events occurred, one of which almost ended the settlement of the city and the other gave to it new life. The first was a disastrous flood and the other was the capture of Pensacola by the Spaniards. The Baron Marc de Villiers in his book gives great credit to the Engineer Pauger as the real locator, so to speak, of the new city, though some writers give that honor to Latour.

After three years of trial the city, due to its wonderful situation and the courageous tenacity of Bienville, really came into being and Pauger's plans for laying foundations, draining the city and for embanking it from the river met their fruition, and on the 14th of April, 1721, after the most energetic work, he was able to present a survey of the work already accomplished and what should be done to make the city one in fact as well as in name.

In these undertakings, Bienville was his friend and helper, and together the enemies and rivals of Pauger could not hold out against him, and he succeeded in his great plans. But it was difficult from the start, because the inhabitants refused to build their houses in conformity with his idea, and at times he only had four laborers at his disposal, out of about four hundred then in the colony.

The Company of the West, of course, wanted to populate the colony, and published a most enthusiastic series of prospectuses, full of exaggerations and fanciful descriptions of the wonderful Mississippi Valley and its rich capital, where already eight hundred houses were occupied, and then, as now, printed matter of that kind

had its effect, for many, fortune hunters mostly, started from France for the new city.

In 1720, the Company almost decided to choose Natchitoches for its capital and to there transfer the new colony from New Orleans, one writer in speaking of it, says "there is no place more favorable to establish the new capital." The disadvantages of New Orleans, were emphasized,—its soft ground, the danger of floods, the swamps, the difficulty of ships entering the mouth of the Mississippi, the distance from the upper valley and from Canada—, though what difference the few miles Natchitoches was above New Orleans could have as to these last two items, it is hard to say. At all events, the Company fearing perhaps that a removal would be expensive and somewhat undo the effect of the glowing stories that had been published, concluded to let things remain as Bienville had established them, and the city becoming better known, many families of settlers from other parts of the French settlements came to New Orleans, so that on the 24th of November, 1721, New Orleans had four hundred and seventy inhabitants in the city proper and twelve hundred and sixty-eight within easy reach.

The next year, Father Charlevoix, who sailed down the Mississippi river after visiting Canada, arrived in New Orleans, but was not much impressed with the site of the capital of Louisiana. The eight hundred beautiful houses which a French paper, probably at the instance of the Western Company, had described two years before, "were only in evidence to the extent of about one hundred cabins, (he using that word in the ordinary sense) placed without much order, one great warehouse built of wood, and only two or three buildings properly described as houses, and these would not be tolerated in any village in France."

When, on May 26th, 1722, an order came from the Company to transfer the general direction of the colony to New Orleans, it having officially been made the capital of New France a year before, the enemies of the new city quickly changed their minds and became its warmest supporters, trying by all means to regain the confidence of the company and helping to carry out the plans of Pauger; even Latour, who had been doing everything in his power to hinder the work of Pauger, did his best then to advance the building of the town. The non-navigability of the river and the difficulty of access through its mouth were found not to have existence when an effort was made to use the river, because its mouth was found wide and deep and its bottom not covered with dangerous stones and rocks, as was the case of Biloxi, on an arm of the sea. But laborers were still scarce,

complaining the work was too hard, and in September, only fifty-two remained at work, a condition of affairs which, Latour said, "would result in eighteen months being required before finishing the construction of buildings then under way."

But as in this life all things have their compensation, this great delay in building was advantageous, because before Fall was over a cyclone swept over the town or city, demolishing the barracks which were also used as a church and thirty-four cabins. The Bayou rose, the river rose, and most of the boats and ships in the harbor were destroyed, starvation almost came, and as a forerunner of what we are now experiencing, eggs sold as high as sixteen cents a piece.

Perhaps October 18, 1722, may be given as the date when the city first received official recognition, for on that date, two ships, the "*Loire*" and the "*Deaux-Freres*" saluted the town with a salvo of sixteen cannon shots; New Orleans was unprepared for such an honor, but met the situation as best it could with one discharge of powder.

The next two years showed improvement, and by April, 1724, a great storehouse had been built and an officers' pavillion, which, for over a year was used as a church. In this year the convent of the Capuchins was almost finished and the next year, Father Raphael founded the first college of New Orleans, very much needed, said the Bishop of Quebec, "Because the hearts of the people in New Orleans are not properly disposed to religion."

➤ The first map of New Orleans, drawn by Latour on January 1, 1723, gave no names to the streets, but on another map, dated April 23rd, the names appeared almost as they are now. Running down the river, the first street was then called Bienville, (now Conti). The street now known as Ursuline, was then known as rue de l'Arsenal, and there was then no Iberville, (formerly Customhouse) and Bienville, as we now have them.

Commencing at the river and running back, the streets were rue de Quai, (now Decatur), Chartres, Royal, Bourbon, Vendome, (now Dauphine) and Bourgogne, (now Burgundy).

➤ Disease was prevalent and the doctors inefficient, so that the death rate was very high. Latour died October 14th, 1723, as Pauger says, "from grief, after the mortifications and disappointments he had to endure regarding his work for the city." In 1724 Pauger became the chief engineer of the colony, but in 1776, was threatened with removal, and determined to return to France, as he wrote his brother, on the next ship, but he died on June 9th, 1726, and in his will, dated the 5th of June, he said:

"I commend my soul to all the saints in Heaven, and especially to St. Adrien (from whom he was named) my patron, and crave forgiveness of my sins, that I may enjoy eternal bliss. I give my soul to God and my body to the earth, hoping that it may be buried in the Church at New Orleans if this is possible."

He was buried in the church and a tablet to his memory should be placed there. Baron DeVilliers says New Orleans should name a street after him, and should try to locate with as much certainty as may be, his residence, which was in the middle of the block fronting the river between St. Louis and Bienville (now Conti) streets.

Again speaking of the prevalent sickness in the colony, another writer says that in 1723, eight to nine persons died every day, being one-sixtieth of the population, and Father Raphael says that in the summer of 1725 he did not know two persons who had not been ill.

In 1727 the population was 938, and the Creoles, as they then began to be called, were so proud of their city that they had a city song, the burden of which was that New Orleans had as good an appearance as Paris, that it was growing daily, and if laborers would only come so that provision could be made for the comfort of its inhabitants, the city would become as beautiful and as great as any city in the world. But in 1732, five years afterwards, the population had been reduced to 893, though from this time on the increase was rather rapid, for in 1739 there were 1748 people in the city; in 1756, 4000.

In the United States Customhouse there is a basso-relievo in marble of Bienville, which is the only monument ever erected to him in New Orleans. The street that bears his name, was so named by Latour. There is a colored public school named for him and in the northern part of the State there is a Parish of Bienville. Beyond these, New Orleans has done nothing to honor the man to whom she owes her foundation, nor has Louisiana, for the man whom for years her people called "father." Let us hope that before many years have passed a heroic statue of Bienville will be erected.

In the plan of the city, in the middle of the river front, two squares had been reserved, the front one as a parade ground or Place d'Armes (now Jackson Square), and the other for ecclesiastical purposes. The middle of this square had from the first been occupied by a church, and is at present the site of the St. Louis Cathedral. On the left and adjoining the church, a company of Capuchin priests erected in 1726 a convent. A company of Ursuline nuns, commissioned to open a school for girls and to attend to the sick, arrived in 1727 from France, and were given temporary quarters in the house on the north corner of Chartres and Bienville streets, while the foundations

of a large and commodious nunnery were laid for them in the square bounded by the river front, Chartres, rue de l'Arsenal (now Ursuline street, in honor of the nuns), and the lower limit of the city, now Hospital street. This building, which was finished in 1730, being then the largest edifice in New Orleans, was occupied by the nuns for ninety-four years, until 1824, when they removed to their new convent below the city. from which they in turn removed in 1912 to their present handsome and commodious structures on State street. While the Battle of New Orleans was raging January 8th, 1815, these pious women prayed for the success of the American Arms and to the convent after the battle Jackson went in person to thank them for their prayers and again called on them when he visited New Orleans in after years, being the only one who had been President of the United States ever so to do in honor of the great American victory. A Te Deum has been sung in the convent every Eighth of January for over one hundred years, the one hundredth anniversary there in 1915 being one of the most impressive features of the Centennial Ceremonies of the Battle of New Orleans. In 1831 the old building became the State House of Louisiana; in 1834 it was made the archepiscopal palace for the Catholic Archbishop of New Orleans, in which capacity it served for many years and it is now used for some of the offices of the church. It is the oldest building in the Mississippi Valley and is as strong and stable as when first built.

A soldiers' hospital was built near the convent, soon after its erection, in the square above, which gave to Hospital streets its name.

The Jesuits received the grant of a tract of land immediately above the city, in consideration of which they agreed to educate the youth of New Orleans. This tract was twenty arpents front, by fifty arpents in depth, and lay within the boundaries now indicated by Common and Terpsichore streets and back from the river to the bayou. A further grant of seven arpents front, adjoining the first grant, made the Jesuits' plantation cover all the land now known as the First District. The space between the plantation and the city was declared a *terre commune*, a pleasure ground not to be built on, but to be used as a public road and for the purpose of fortification. This *terre commune* marks Common street, which derives its name therefrom.

The Jesuits settled on their plantation in 1727, being furnished with a residence, a chapel, and slaves to cultivate their lands. They introduced the orange, fig, sugar cane and indigo plant to Louisiana.

In 1758, New Orleans received a considerable accession of population, on account of the absorption by the British of the French settlements on the upper Ohio, at Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, and the consequent migration of the French colonists from these points to New Orleans. This required the construction of additional barracks in the lower part of the city front, at a point afterwards known by the name of Barracks street (*rue de Quartiers*.) Expecting an attack from the British, Governor Kerlerec seized the opportunity to improve the fortifications around the town.

The Creoles of New Orleans were at this time greatly agitated over what is known in Louisiana history as the "Jesuit War," a quarrel between the Jesuits and the Capuchins as to jurisdiction. The strife was characterized by "acrimonious writings, squibs, pasquinades and satirical songs," the women in particular taking sides with lively zeal. In July, 1763, the Capuchins were left masters of the field, the Jesuits being expelled from all French and Spanish possessions on the order of the Pope. Their plantation, which was in a splendid condition and one of the best in Louisiana, was sold for \$180,000.00 a very large sum in those days.

In November, 1762, the Treaty of Fontainebleau was signed, by which France transferred Louisiana to Spain. The transaction was kept a secret, and it was not until after the lapse of two years that the people of New Orleans learned with indignation and alarm that they had been sold to Spain. But in time the people became reconciled to the change and many of the Spanish Governors became exceedingly popular.

On Good Friday, March 21, 1780, occurred the great conflagration which destroyed nearly the entire city. It began on Chartres street near St. Louis, in the private chapel of Don Vincento Jose Nunez, the military treasurer of the colony. The buildings on the immediate river front escaped, but the central portion of the town, including the entire commercial quarter, the dwellings of the leading inhabitants, the town hall, the arsenal, the jail, the parish church and the quarters of the Capuchins were completely destroyed. Nineteen squares and 856 houses were destroyed in this fire.

Six years later, on December 8th, 1794, some children playing in a court on Royal street, too near an adjoining hay store, set fire to it. A strong wind was blowing at the time, and in three hours 212 dwellings and stores in the heart of the town were destroyed. The cathedral lately founded on the site of the church burned in 1788, escaped; but the pecuniary loss exceeded that of the previous conflagration, which had been estimated at \$2,600,000.00. Only two

stores were left standing, and a large portion of the population was compelled to camp out in the Place d'Armes and on the Levee.

New Orleans now made rapid improvement. Don Andres Almonaster y Roxas, father of Baroness Pontalba, erected a handsome row of brick buildings on each side of the Place d'Armes, where the Pontalba buildings now stand, making the fashionable retail quarter of the town. In 1787 he built on Ursuline street a chapel of stucco brick for the nuns. The Charity Hospital, founded in 1737 by a sailor named Jean Louis, on Rampart street, between St. Louis and Toulouse, then outside of the town limits, was destroyed in 1779 by the hurricane. In 1784, Almonaster began and two years later completed, at a cost of \$114,000.00 on the same site, a brick edifice, which he called the Charity Hospital of St. Charles.

In 1792, he began the erection upon the site of the parish church, destroyed by fire in 1788, of a brick building, and in 1794, when Louisiana and Florida were erected into a bishopric separate from Havana, this church, sufficiently completed for occupation, became the St. Louis Cathedral. Later still, he filled the void made by the burning of the town hall and the jail, which, until the conflagration, had stood on the south side of the church, facing the Place d'Armes, with the hall of the Cabildo, the same that stands there at this time, long the home of the Supreme Court and now occupied by the Louisiana Historical Society and the Louisiana State Museum. The upper story, a Mansard roof, and added subsequently, does not blend with the Spanish architecture.

In 1794 Governor Carondelet began, and in the following two years finished, with the aid of a large force of slaves, the excavation of the "old basin" and the Carondelet Canal, connecting New Orleans with Bayou St. John and Lake Ponchartrain.

In 1794 Etienne de Bore, whose plantation occupied the site where the sixth District of New Orleans now stands, formerly the City of Jefferson, succeeded in producing \$12,000 worth of superior sugar, and introduced sugar culture into Louisiana.

In 1787, New Orleans was doing a very large export trade for the American possessions, on the upper Mississippi and Ohio, the goods being shipped to the city on flat boats. In August, 1788, Gen. Wilkinson received through his agent in New Orleans, via the Mississippi, a cargo of dry goods and other articles, for the Kentucky market, probably the first boatload of manufactured commodities that ever went up the river to Ohio.

In 1793 the citizens of the colony were granted the valuable concession of an open commerce with Europe and America, and a

number of merchants from Philadelphia established commercial houses in New Orleans. In October 20th, 1795, was signed at Madrid the treaty which declared the Mississippi free to the people of the United States, and New Orleans a port of deposit for three years free of any charge.

On the first of October, 1800, Louisiana was transferred by Spain to France. It was not, however, until March 26th, 1803, that the French colonial prefect Laussat landed at New Orleans, commissioned to prepare for the expected arrival of General Victor with a large force of French troops. Instead of General Victor, however, a vessel from France brought the news in July that Louisiana had been purchased by the United States. On November 3rd, with troops drawn up in line on the Place d'Armes, and with discharges of artillery, Salcedo, the Spanish governor, in the hall of the Cabildo, delivered the keys of New Orleans to Laussat. On the 20th of the next month, Laussat, with similar ceremonies, turned Louisiana over to Commissioners Claiborne and Wilkinson, and New Orleans became part of the United States. At that time, with its suburbs, it possessed a population of 10,000, the great majority of the white people being Creoles.

One of the most remarkable battles in the history of the world was fought on the plains of Chalmette, just below New Orleans, on January 8th, 1815, when Andrew Jackson, at the head of a comparatively small American force, badly equipped and poorly armed, defeated the flower of the English army, fresh from the battle fields of Europe, where it had achieved glory and recognition in the campaign of Wellington, and thus made secure for Louisiana forever the great Mississippi Valley, the major part of which was the Louisiana purchased by Jefferson from France, and out of which thirteen states have been carved and admitted into the Union. It is said by some writers that the battle was of no importance, because it was fought after peace was declared; but this is a mistake. It is true that on December 24th, in the city of Ghent the commissioners of Great Britain and of the United States had signed a treaty of peace, but that treaty was of no effect, as to the United States until approved by the President and two-thirds of the Senate, and this did not occur until February 17th, 1815, and not until that day was peace established. Many treaties have been negotiated on the part of the United States and rejected by the Senate, and some disapproved by the President and never by him sent to the Senate, and, in several cases, treaties submitted by one President to the Senate have been withdrawn by his successor, so that the mere signing of a treaty is

in no case binding on the United States. Therefore, if the English had been successful in the Battle of New Orleans, the assent of the English King to the treaty would have been withdrawn and the war would have been started all over again. A recent historical research shows that Pakenham came to New Orleans with a complete plan for the civil government of the Mississippi Valley when he conquered New Orleans.

New Orleans today has the oldest railroad in the United States that running out Elysian Fields Avenue to Milneburg, for though other railroads were built before that, they have long since disappeared, while it is still there and some of the people who are compelled to patronize it say that it is still using the rolling stock and locomotives that it operated in 1830.

New Orleans is the greatest factory city in the south, leading by millions of dollars and leading all others in manufacturing both in capital and in products. It is the largest cotton, sugar, molasses, coffee, nitrate, rice, cigar, cigarette and banana market in the United States and the largest lumber market in the South. It has the only Municipal owned belt railroad in the world and its wharves and docks, freight sheds, cotton warehouses, grain elevators, and water system represent the acme of public ownership and are the envy of all cities throughout the world. As the Panama Canal, the dream of explorers, statesmen and engineers for over four hundred years, became a reality when the United States took the matter in hand during the progressive and vigorous administration of President Roosevelt, so will New Orleans, under the guidance of Mayor Martin Behrman, soon have a Canal from the Mississippi river to Lake Ponchartrain, a plan evolved by Marigny more than one hundred years ago, he actually building such a canal, small and unimportant though it was, out Elysian Fields Avenue, then known as "Champs Elysees," which though long since abandoned and filled up, will be considered the forerunner of the one now to be built.

Mardi Gras, which became an institution of New Orleans in 1827, and which has been annually observed since, though in a very minor form in 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865 and 1875, was totally unobserved this year. No doubt the celebrations thereof will be renewed with greater interest and enthusiasm than ever when the world war is over, and we have again been restored to our normal condition of peace.

One of the great events in the history of New Orleans was the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, held from Dec., 1884, to May, 1885, in Audubon Park, then known as the Upper City

Park, which built up that part of New Orleans between Louisiana Avenue and Carrollton, and brought to the attention of the world the great natural resources and possibilities of Louisiana. Many large buildings were erected for the exposition, one of which, the Horticultural Hall, remained until a few years ago, when, after passing through several storms, it was found necessary to demolish it. The main building had an area of 1,656,000 square feet, the largest building ever erected before or since.

New Orleans has many monuments, the most noted of which are to Henry Clay, the great statesman of Kentucky; Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Albert Sidney Johnston and P. G. T. Beauregard, noted Confederate Generals; Jefferson Davis, the only President of the Confederate States; Margaret Haughery, the friend of the orphans; Audubon, the world renowned naturalist; John McDonough, who gave half his fortune to New Orleans for public schools, of which there are now thirty bearing his name; Andrew Jackson, the hero of Chalmette, and Benjamin Franklin, the Revolutionary statesman, all of these being of full length, except McDonough, which is a bust; the great monument at Chalmette, a massive shaft over one hundred feet high, and the Liberty Monument, in honor of the heroes of September 14, 1874, when began the end of reconstruction in Louisiana; and many others to private individuals in cemeteries and elsewhere, and busts of noted educators, musicians and historians in our museums, schools and libraries.

New Orleans Public schools rank with the best in the country, eighty-two in number for elementary grades, besides three magnificent High Schools, a Normal School, the graduates of which are in demand everywhere and an Industrial school for girls, a great success from its start. Its Colleges, Tulane, Newcomb and Loyola, represent in their student body practically every State in the Union and every foreign country. Soon we shall have the splendid Delgado Trade School for boys, which in endowment and equipment will be the peer of any similar institution in America.

The Charity organizations of New Orleans are almost without number, and its churches of every denomination are beautiful, many of them very fine in architecture, and all of them numbering devoted and pious adherents by the thousands and tens of thousands.

The Commission form of government established in New Orleans in 1912, New Orleans being the first large city to adopt such a system, in the hands of the capable men who were first elected thereunder to administer the government, has given so much satisfaction

to our people, that all of the incumbents, except one, who declined to again hold office, were re-elected without opposition in 1916.

Before the Civil War and for some years after, the trade of New Orleans through the Mississippi river and its tributaries was enormous, but the opposition of the railroads and poor terminal facilities have caused this trade to disappear and the greatness of New Orleans will only begin to start when this trade is again developed, for only through this, together with a canal from the great Lakes to the Mississippi river will the Panama Canal, the great artery of peaceful commerce which the United States gave to the world, be of any benefit to this City, and as the present conditions of affairs have shown that the railroads cannot accommodate the trade of the Mississippi Valley, soon will the river come into its own again, and with it our city will increase in population and wealth by leaps and bounds, to the glory of our whole country, and there is no reason why at some time in the future, the Official Flag of New Orleans, raised on the City Hall for the first time on February 9th, 1918, should not float over a city greater than any now existing in the United States.



WHEN KNIGHTHOOD WAS IN FLOWER

We need not go back to the days of Don Quixotte for examples of chivalric acts of the old regime. One hundred and ten years ago the affair recounted below was one of the incidents of those days. The original document which gives these data is owned by Hon. Gaspar Cucashs, president of the Louisiana Historical Society, and to his courtesy we owe the privilege of publishing it. The antiquity of the episode is shown in old fashioned s resembling the letter f. It reads as follows:

"PHILIP GRIMES

"Diftrict Attorney of the United States, having refused to give me the fatiffaction due to a gentleman, after having publicly insulted me, I declare the faid Philip Grimes to be—A COWARD.

JAMES WORKMAN,

Counfellow at Law.

"New Orleans, Nov. 27, 1808."

GRIMES' ANSWER

"P. Grimes cannot ftoop to make any other reply to the Honorable Judge Workman than that which his friend, Mr. P. D. Foley, has doubtless communicated to His Honour; to the publick he owes the following apology:

"At a superior court holden in the city of New Orleans, in the county of Orleans, on the twelfth day of January, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven:

"The grand jurors within and for the faid territory, on their oath, prefent that James Workman, late of the city of New Orleans, in the county and territory aforefaid, efquire, being a wicked and feditious man, and unmindful of the duty of his allegiance, and contriving and intending the peace and common tranquillity of this territory to difquiet, moleft and difturb, and the government by law eftablished there wholly to fuvert, and overthrow, and excite the citizens of the faid territory to infurrection and rebellion and revolt, as well againft the government of the United States of America; to-wit:

"On the fifth day of March in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six, in divers days and times, as well before as after, at this city aforefaid, wickedly and feditioufly did counfel,

advise, entice and persuade certain divers good citizens of this said territory to aid, assist and promote him, the said James Workman, and divers others to the jury unknown, (whom the said James Workman declared to be his associates in the same wicked, felonious and traitorous project), wholly to separate the said territory from the government of the United States, to declare the same independent thereof and wholly to subvert the government of this said territory, to transport out of the said territory the person there lawfully exercising the powers of Governor thereof, to establish by violence and force of arms another government therein, wholly independent of the government of the United States of America, against the peace of the territory and the law in such case provided.

"A TRUE BILL

Signed: EVAN JONES, Foreman.

"Any gentleman who may feel himself insulted by my observations in court Friday last, and has anything like character to defend may ascertain whether I deserve the imputation of cowardice or not.
P. GRIMES."

New Orleans, Nov. 27, 1808.

To judge the individuals who have gone before us we should consider their acts in the light of the period in which they lived, appraise them by the measure of praise or blame then attached to them, and by the influence of public opinion on the minds and morals of those ancestors who had brought from Europe the polish as well as the errors and vices of their European predecessors. If there appeared in our city, at the present time, the above poster it would be considered as the emanation of unbalanced mentality or of one seeking notoriety; but in 1808 it was the usual means employed against an antagonist who refused the satisfaction demanded by the code of honor. The ten commandments were not then more respected than this code. The 26 commandments of the duelling code were compiled and written by John McDonald Taylor in 1777. He fought under Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo and afterwards drifted to New Orleans where he married into one of its most prominent families. The original of this code is owned by one of his descendants in New Orleans. Another well known code of honor is that of John Lyde Wilson, Governor of South Carolina.

The first rule of the duelling code was: Not to resent the offense at the moment it was offered, which course was considered as a want of respect to those present, unless the insult took the shape of a blow,

in which case, even after its being returned, the insulted party had a right to challenge the aggressor, but absolute silence was observed by principals and seconds during the preliminaries of the duel.

The challenge was supposed to be courteous, and if the style was in any way offensive the principal had a right to reject it; if it was of a dubious character, the second was required to endorse it as conforming to his ideas of politeness. If the party refused the challenge it became the second's duty to inquire into the cause of the refusal, and if he persisted in this refusal, the second had the right to post him, or publish a card in the newspapers. When one or the other of the principals refused to fight, the seconds were supposed to assume that duty. A near relative, such as father, son or brother was debarred from acting as second on the plea of consanguinity. Minors were not allowed to challenge adults unless the adults had made companions of them. Accommodations were always sought and when apologies were offered, gentlemanly seconds never made them humiliating to one principal unless the other was averse to arranging the matter.

If a challenge was made on unacceptable terms it was returned to the second who brought it back for redress. No gentleman was obliged to accept a challenge from a minor unless he had made him an associate, from one engaged in unlawful trade, from a man in old age or in his dotage. A challenge from a stranger was accepted after some lapse of time in order to ascertain his standing and occupation. The principals were entirely governed by the seconds in arranging details, in accepting apologies, explanations, etc., and when the principals became untractable the seconds were free to refuse to act, and cast off all responsibility. The seconds were always supposed to have a conciliatory mission. When the principals met on the field, they were entirely under control of their seconds, and once the ground was measured off and their positions marked, they were not supposed to deviate or change in any way without orders from their seconds. The seconds gave the word to fire, and each held a loaded pistol, for, in case of any treachery or of a principal falling from premature fire, the second was obliged to take his place and fight his opponent. No second allowed his principal to continue a duel after having been wounded; he did not allow him to continue against a wounded opponent, and in every case where resentment pursued a different course the seconds were in fault. After an exchange of shots in which neither principal was hit, the seconds incurred the duty of effecting a reconciliation, by obliging the principals to meet on neutral ground and shake hands; in cases where the insult had deeply wronged one

of the opponents the duel continued until blood flowed, and in that case the challenger was free to leave the duelling ground; but if the challenged party wounded the challenger, it was his duty to obtain leave through his second to leave the field. In every duel, besides the principals and the seconds, a surgeon and an assistant surgeon were required for each principal, but the assistant surgeon was often dispensed with. Duels were generally kept secret with a contingent of not more than the eight required persons, but there were cases when others were allowed to be present if they were not father, brother or son to one of the principals.

The lengths of the pistols was regulated by the duelling code, and the seconds were supposed to inform each other when about to load them for the principals. There were rules fixing the manner in which the arms should be presented to the duellists, the manner in which they were to be held in order to give the same chances to each principal, and the details to be observed throughout the encounter. In all codes of honor it was held that "words used in retort, although more violent and disrespectful than those first used," did not satisfy, "words being no satisfaction for words." When a spoken insult called forth a blow, the person receiving the blow became the challenger if he had not returned the blow.

Insults offered under the effect of intoxicants called for satisfaction or for a written apology and an acknowledgement that the party was unconscious of offering an insult and retracted it. A blow generally called for blood, but on the seconds alone depended this much discussed question.

In Louisiana the code of honor was rigorously enforced and the histories of some duels have come down to us as tragedies, for instance the duel in which Governor Claiborne's brother-in-law, Micajah Lewis, lost his life at the second fire. This duel was deeply deplored by friends and enemies of the Governor and his young secretary. He had resented the use of his dead sister's name, brought up to annoy and hurt Claiborne; the duel was arranged and Lewis was a corpse before the Governor heard of the impending meeting. In the old St. Louis cemetery his tombstone may still be seen. The duelling oaks on the Allard Plantation, now the City Park, acquired celebrity from the many rencontres under their spreading branches; they fought with pistols and swords, especially broadswords. The different fencing masters in New Orleans frequently chose each other as opponents to gratify their jealousy or to display their skill. Dauphin was killed under these oaks by Bonneval.

Mandeville de Marigny fought two duels with Grailhe, a singular coincidence of those duels being that in the first Grailhe received a wound which forced him to remain in a bending position, and that the wound inflicted in the second duel corrected this and made him painfully and ridiculously erect.

Mr. Vincent Nolte's duels have been told of by himself in his *Reminiscences of "fifty years in both hemispheres."* They form an amusing page in the history of territorial times and of the early days of Statehood in Louisiana, especially his version of his difficulty with Joseph Saul, Cashier of the Louisiana Bank. After vigorously chastising Nolte, Saul was obliged to meet Nott, Nolte's friend, as Nolte was unable to fight. When Nolte recovered he challenged Saul who refused the cartel on the plea that he had already rendered satisfaction to Nott for Nolte's injured feelings. Nolte was obliged to accept a challenge from Captain Allen who resented his cowardly insults to his uncle, General Hull. The last chapter of Vincent Nolte's aggressiveness was his quarrel with McQueen.

Pepe Lulla, owner of the St. Vincent cemetery, was a great duellist; it seemed to amuse him to pick a quarrel with the conceited Cuban refugees and other triflers of his day.

Even after the war of secession duels were fought and though this practice was forbidden by law, no jury was ever known to condemn this form of homicide.

H. H. C.



THE OLD PORTAGE BETWEEN BAYOU ST JOHN AND THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

It is not generally known that at the time of the founding of New Orleans two hundred years ago most of the travel between the Mississippi river and the early French settlements on the gulf including Biloxi and Mobile was by the Bayou Mancha route, then called by some Iberville river, down through Lake Maurepas past Manchac and Lake Ponchartrain, through the Rigolets and thence to the desired destinations along the Gulf Coast.

This route made that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi river an island and our title to it by the purchase of all Louisiana by Thomas Jefferson from France in 1803, is better than to what we have now of Louisiana above and east of bayou Manchac, viz: the so-called Florida parishes of East Baton Rouge, east and West Feliciana, Livingston, St. Tammany and Washington. Spain claimed and to some extent occupied these parishes. The river route to the sea had been discovered long before by LaSalle and for a time was considered dangerous and as the French settlements above Manchac were comparatively continuous all the way to the great lakes, and the travel was by canoes, small boats and barges, the Manchac route became and for a long time remained the chief route from the Gulf Coast to the river settlements.

All this time it was known, that a bayou called St. John, discharging its waters into the lake now called Ponchartrain, headed up near to the Mississippi river. The local Indians told this to the early explorers and it was found to be an old Indian portage and had been used for perhaps ages by the Indians.

This portage at once made a better or at least a quicker route from gulf to river and became a prominent feature in the development of the lower hundred and fifty miles of the river. Bayou St. John debouches into Lake Ponchartrain at Spanish Fort on the present lake front of New Orleans, is now utilized by small vessels up into the rear of the city whence a canal known as the old Canal or Canal Carondelet penetrates to within a few hundred feet of Rampart street, the locality known as the old basin.

The importance of this portage to the Indians, to the early French settlers and to the city of New Orleans at the present day, led recently to its careful tracing out and one of our members, Mr.

O. M. Milner, the well known lawyer, and formerly president of the New Orleans Automobile Association, consented to aid in the work and wrote the following report:

Report of the Special Committee on the Old Portage between Bayou St. John and the Mississippi River:

To the President and Members of the Louisiana Historical Society:

It was with much pleasure that your committee on yesterday, November 27, 1917, traversed for the first time, the streets which this day follow the portage that was so extensively used two hundred years ago between Bayou St. John and the Mississippi river.

We reversed the order and started up the banks of the Mississippi river, now occupied by one of our dock sheds, crossed the car tracks and entered Hospital or Governor Nicholls street, the river end of the portage. The street is paved with asphalt to Rampart. Crossing Rampart, we continued over a cobblestone pavement, rough, full of holes, and not often used, passing over the Claiborne Canal, to Broad street. Crossing Broad street, we followed the car tracks into Tonti street until it sharply intersects with Grand Route St. John. We turned rather shortly to the left and followed this broad thoroughfare, over its car tracks, until we reached Bayou St. John, at the point where the portage began.

In spite of our consciousness of this present day existence, the trip was so interesting we all but felt the touch of the forests on each side of us and thought we followed the path made by those strong-limbed Indians and early French and Spanish traders who carried their great burdens between the waters of Bayou St. John and the Mississippi river, over a path beaten hard and smooth by moccasined feet.

Your committee urges the proper marking of this old portage and hopes that the city can, at no distant day, have the streets which followed the portage paved so that visitors may ride over this route, thus adding to the richness of our historical interests.

RESOLUTION

Adopted by the Louisiana Historical Society at its Regular
Monthly Meeting Held in the Cabildo, New Orleans,
June, 18th, 1918.

Whereas, the House of Representatives of Louisiana has passed a Bill making an appropriation for the erection of a monument to the Louisiana Soldiers who served in the Vicksburg Campaign, in the War between the States, 1861 to 1865, said monument to be erected on Louisiana Circle in the Vicksburg National Military Park, and whereas it is eminently just and fitting that said monument should be erected and erected now,

Therefore, Be It Resolved, by the Louisiana Historical Society that it endorses said Bill and calls upon the members of the Senate, individually and collectively, to pass said Bill at the earliest possible moment that same may be signed by the Governor and work on the monument started at once, as an incentive to those called upon to enlist and serve during the present World War, believing that when they see that their ancestors, who served their State and Country in another War, are not forgotten, that they will enlist with more enthusiasm and satisfaction.



BIENVILLE'S SEAL

The Louisiana Historical Society tenders thanks to the National Society of Colonial Dames, resident in the State of Louisiana, for the fine copy of the Bienville seal forming the frontispiece of the Bienville number, and at the same time apologizes for the oversight which prevented this acknowledgment from appearing in the last Quarterly.

This seal was made in New York, where Mrs. Ben Lewis went for that sole purpose. Miss Angelica Church enlarged and made the plaster cast and Tiffany made the bronze replica.

NOTES ON LOUISIANA IN 1778

Charles Theodore Middleton's *System of Geography*, (two volumes, in folio), published in London, 1778, does not devote very much attention to America. It has one map of North America on a small scale and one of the Atlantic ocean, also on a small scale. Reference to Louisiana is short, but not uninteresting:

Page 493:

LOUISIANA. Louisiana, most of which was ceded to the English in 1778, and now constitutes the greater part of the government of West Florida, is bounded by the Mississippi on the west, and by East Florida, Georgia, and Carolina, on the east; and extends from the lake of the Illinois, or rather from the source of the Mississippi on the north, to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. It is a very pleasant, fruitful country, being watered by a number of rivers, the frequent overflowings of which contribute not a little to its fertility. Nothing is more delightful than the meadows, which are fit for feed of all kind. In some parts the soil yields three or four crops in the year; for the winter consists only in heavy rains, without any nipping frosts. Almost all parts of trees which Europe affords are to be found here, besides a variety of others unknown to us, and some of them of great value; such as lofty cedars, which distil a gum that is said to excel all the noblest European perfumes; and cotton-trees which are of a prodigious height. The whole country abounds with an infinite variety of game, fowl, cattle, and indeed everything that life can desire.

New Orleans, which was the only place of any note in Louisiana that was not ceded to the English by the late treaty of peace, and which the French have since yielded up to the Spaniards, is situated between the eastern shore of the Mississippi, and the Fifth river, near the lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas, and about 18 leagues from the sea. It is a pretty large handsome town, but subject to most ruinous inundations; besides, the navigation between it and the sea is so very difficult, that none but small vessels and flat-bottomed boats can get up to it, there being a shelf that lies before the mouth of the river, where there is not above ten feet of water. It is said that the channel of it is twice as large as that of the Seine, keeping the same

breadth all along; and that the stream is rapid, though it be full of windings and turnings for 900 leagues.

There is a short mention of a Devonshire colony in Florida, Page 494:

Mr. Rolles, a public spirited gentleman, and member in the British parliament for Barnstaple in Devonshire, having had a grant of a tract of land in this country, planned a settlement upon the river St. John, to which he carried over a considerable number of adventurers.



Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of the LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, published quarterly at New Orleans, La., for April 1, 1918. State of Louisiana, Parish of Orleans. Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and Parish aforesaid, personally appeared John Dymond, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912. Publisher, Louisiana Historical Society. Editor, Managing Editor, Business Manager, John Dymond, New Orleans, La. 2. That the owners are: The Louisiana Historical Society and issues no stock, officers are G. Cusachs, President; John Dymond, First Vice-President; William Kernan Dart, Second Vice-President; Henry Renshaw, Third Vice-President; W. O. Hart, Treasurer and Bussiere Rouen, Corresponding Secretary, all of New Orleans, La. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. Signed John Dymond, Editor. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of April, 1918. (Seal) Andre Lafargue, Notary Public. (My commission is for life-time.)

